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THE NATIONAL CAPITAL IS MOVABLE;

OR,

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

IN FAVOR OF THE

Removal of the National Capital

TO THE

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

BY L. U. REAVIS.

Let us go to the audience of the people with our facts and our cause, told in our own style and language.—Gov. Wm. Gilpin.

Westward the course of Empire takes its way.
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ST. LOUIS:
MISSOURI DEMOCRAT BOOK AND JOB PRINTING HOUSE.
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Dedication.

TO WILLIAM GILPIN,

A MAN

OF RARE GENIUS AND ADVANCED THOUGHT,

A PROPHET AND

PIONEER OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION,

ARE THESE

PAGES FRATERNALLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

THE

CAPITAL QUESTION.

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE PEOPLE.

"Let us go to the audience of the people with our facts and our cause, told in our own style and language."—Gov. Wm. Gilpin.

Since the beginning of the agitation for the removal of the National Capital, the discussion has been steadily and vigorously prosecuted in the most satisfactory manner to the friends of the cause. Everywhere the intelligent mind realizes that it is a great question growing up in the hearts of the people—a great national question, which the growth of the Republic and the mightiness of the people have forced upon the country, as by the powerful working of an inherent law of our continental progress. Nor is the question one of a local or sectional character, whose only success depends upon the triumph of a fanatical partisan foe over an equally persistent but defeated opponent. Not so! This question of the removal of the seat of government is in the highest degree a national and a continental question. National, because the whole people are alike interested in the adaptability of a fixed locality for the seat of empire. Continental, because the seat of the National Legislature, fixed in the heart of the nation, gives double assurance to the conception of the continental supremacy of our Constitution.

With this simple statement we at once ascend to the grandeur of the subject, and if its logic and importance could possibly be realized by all the American people, no further argument would be necessary to insure the speedy removal of the Capital from the Potomac to the Mississippi. Knowing, however, that timely as the agitation and discussion may be, it is still neces-

sary, to the success of our cause, that the public mind be made familiar with the various arguments that bear upon the subject, I will present a few as I understand them. But, before I begin my special pleadings, I will ask, is the nation ready for the question? I answer, Yes!

I. THE RIGHT OF DISCUSSION.

The right to discuss all questions relating to the well-being of this people and nation is inherent; it is a privilege derived from the organic nature of the government, and alike the same in all the States and to all the people. Standing upon this broad basis of political right, you must know that the subject of the removal of the National Capital is a legitimate subject for the American people to discuss

II. THE BASIS OF DISCUSSION.

At the base of the discussion:

1. It is assumed by the friends of Capital removal that the fathers of the country, in the exercise of the power to remove the seat of the general government from New York to its present place, legislated for themselves as they thought best, and selected for the new seat of government a place central to the then existing States of the young Republic. It was their right to legislate for themselves; they did so according to their judgment and their wants.

2. It is assumed by the friends of Capital removal that this people have the same right to legislate for themselves as our fathers had for themselves, and that it is their right to legislate for themselves according to their judgment and their wants, and that the wants of this people, though the same in principle, are not the same in character.

3. That the Capital which was then suited to the wants of an infant nation, born on a narrow strip of land on the shore of the Atlantic, is not now suited to the wants of a Republic whose territorial relations to the Capital of 1790 are entirely changed, thus making a new Capital for the nation imperative.

4. It is assumed by the friends of Capital removal that the seat of government, at its present place, is not adapted to the national life, nor to the wants of our continental people; that, at every stage of the national growth, Washington City is rendered less fit to be the Capital of this nation, and that therefore

the Capital ought to be removed to some more central and convenient place in the wide domain of this continental commonwealth.

5. It is assumed by the friends of Capital removal that, inasmuch as this is "a government of the people and by the people and for the people," its Capital ought to be central and convenient to the great majority of the people who are to be its guardians and defenders.

6. It is assumed by the friends of Capital removal that the center of human power in this nation will be fixed and organized, at an early date, in the center of the productive energies of the country, and that against the truth of this assumption no argument can be made.

In elaboration of the foregoing propositions as the basis of the discussion, attention is asked to the argument of the question.

III. THE ARGUMENT.

At the very outset of the presentation of the argument, let me suppose that some opponent to the movement asks, Why do we want the Capital removed? What good will its removal subserve to the general interest of the government? I answer: That the Capital of a nation, in its true relations to government, must serve a double purpose. Not only is it necessary for it to be the seat of the national legislation and the governmental power of the country, but with equal necessity must it be representative in its influence of civilization upon the character of the nation. All history furnishes evidence of the truth of this position. Scarcely was there a nation of antiquity whose Capital was not also its representative city. The middle ages furnish the strongest evidence of this truth in their city States. Where the power is, there is essentially the Capital, and it is a universal law that power is essentially central. It is imperfection alone that establishes it outside the center. All laws, human and divine, are at best only means to regulate the action and tendency of man and things; and if the conventional power to regulate by legislation is fixed within the influence of the absolute power of control, the reciprocal influence of the one upon the other will be most beneficial to the whole people. This is what the friends of Capital removal seek to establish in this great Republic, as the greatest fact of its material life.

Akin to this great fact is the important one of locating the seat of government in a republic where it will best subserve the business interests of the people with the government. In a Republic like ours, with immense and valuable territorial possessions of unsettled lands to dispose of, railroads to build, banking and various commercial interests to protect, a vast number of people have business to transact from year to year at the seat of government; and for this, too, it is the right of the people to demand its removal to a central and appropriate part of the country.

In support of these claims the following facts are offered as testimony:

When the first Congress, sitting at New York in 1790, selected the present site for the National Government, the United States, exclusive of the Northwestern Territory, embraced a narrow strip of the Atlantic Slope, consisting of an area of 341,756 square miles, and had 3,929,827 inhabitants—scarcely more than the present population of the State of New York. Not a foot of land did our Government own beyond the Mississippi, nor did she prize her possessions beyond the Appalachian mountains of much value, for the Indian, the buffalo, the deer and panther ruled supreme.

In selecting a permanent seat of government, the Congress of 1790 legislated in the special interest of the thirteen original States—legislated exclusively for themselves. This was their wisdom — appropriate and just to themselves and their times; to us an error. They were a small band of people; we are a continental people. Our national legislation must conform to our wants and our times, and cannot be gauged by the narrow limits of the old government of 1790.

From an area of 610,512 square miles, including the Northwestern Territory, the national domain has grown to an area of 2,950,264 square miles, exclusive of Alaska—more than three times as large as the old government, and embracing within its control the shores of two oceans, the greatest gulf, the mightiest lakes and rivers in the world.

Of the vast domain which now composes our territorial extent, 860,000 square miles lie east of the Mississippi, and 2,070,000 west of it, exclusive of Alaska, which has 577,390 square miles. Thus it will be seen that by the Louisiana purchase in 1800 we acquired more than double the territorial area,

and the full control of the great rivers and the inexhaustible mineral wealth of the mountains; and these acquisitions have been made since the location of the Capital at Washington.

Population.

This is the most interesting and valuable part of the whole argument. As I have already stated, the entire population of our country in 1790, when Washington was made the seat of government, was 3,929,827. In the space of eighty years we have grown to 38,555,983, as the census of 1870 shows. Of these 18,152,824 belong to the Atlantic Slope, and 20,397,807 to the Mississippi Valley and to the Pacific Slope. This gives to the West a preponderance of population.

Owing to the great importance of this part of the argument, the following analysis of population is submitted, and in so doing I have thrown the States into two general groups, putting all those States that touch the Atlantic in one group, and those in the valley of the Mississippi and the Western States in the other. In 1820 the Atlantic States contained 76.59 per cent. of the population of the whole United States, while the other group had but 23.41 per cent. In 1830 this had changed to 71 per cent. in the Atlantic States, and 29 per cent. in the other group. In 1840 it stood at 62.60 per cent. in the Atlantic group, and 37.40 per cent. in the other group. In 1850 it stood 57.25 per cent. in the Atlantic group and 42.15 in the other group. In 1860 it stood 50.59 per cent. in the Atlantic group and 49.41 per cent. in the other group. In 1870 it stood 47 per cent. in the Atlantic group and 53 per cent. in the other group. If we assume that the population of the whole United States will continue to increase in about the same ratio that it has done since 1810, say at the rate of 33.33 per cent. each decade, and that the relative increase of the two groups will continue, we shall have in the Mississippi Valley and the Western States, in 1880, 58.75 per cent., while the Atlantic group will have but 41.25 per cent. of the population; and in 1890 it will stand for the Mississippi Valley group 64.75 per cent. and the other 35.25 per cent. In 1900 it will stand for Mississippi Valley 71.62 per cent. and the other 29.37 per cent.; and in 1910 it will stand 76.68 per cent. in the Mississippi Valley States and 23.50 per cent. in the Atlantic group — thus in 90 years completely reversing the position of the two groups of States.

TABLES

Showing an analysis of the population of the United States, according to the following geographical classification of the States and Territories.

NORTH ATLANTIC STATES.

STATES.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Maine.....	298,269	399,455	501,793	583,169	628,279	626,915
N. Hampshire	244,022	269,328	284,574	317,976	326,073	318,300
Vermont.....	235,749	280,652	291,848	314,120	315,098	330,551
Massachusetts.	523,159	610,408	737,699	994,514	1,231,066	1,457,351
Rhode Island..	83,015	97,199	108,830	147,545	174,620	217,353
Connecticut....	275,102	297,675	309,978	370,792	460,147	537,454
	1,659,316	1,954,717	2,234,722	2,728,116	3,135,283	3,487,924

Per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 14.80; 1830–40, 14.32; 1840–50, 22.08; 1850–60, 14.96; 1860–70, 11.56.

CENTRAL ATLANTIC STATES.

STATES.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
New York.....	1,372,111	1,918,608	2,428,921	3,097,394	3,880,735	4,382,757
New Jersey....	277,426	320,823	373,306	489,555	672,035	906,096
Pennsylvania.	1,049,507	1,348,233	1,724,033	2,311,786	2,906,215	3,521,791
Delaware	72,749	76,748	78,085	91,532	112,216	125,015
Maryland.....	407,350	447,040	470,019	583,834	687,049	780,894
Dis. Columbia	33,039	39,834	43,712	1,421,661	1,596,318	1,667,177
Va. & W. Va.	1,005,129	1,211,405	1,239,797	51,687	75,080	131,700
	4,217,311	5,362,691	6,357,873	8,046,649	9,932,568	11,515,430

Per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 27.13; 1830–40, 18.67; 1840–50, 26.56; 1850–60, 23.42; 1860–70, 15.94.

SOUTH ATLANTIC STATES.

STATES.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
N. Carolina....	638,829	737,987	753,419	869,039	992,622	1,071,606
S. Carolina	502,741	581,185	594,398	668,507	703,708	705,606
Georgia.....	340,983	516,823	691,392	906,185	1,057,286	1,184,109
Florida.....	.....	34,730	54,477	87,445	140,424	187,748
	1,482,553	1,870,725	2,093,686	2,531,176	2,894,040	3,148,824

Per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 26.18; 1830–40, 11.92; 1840–50, 20.90; 1850–60, 18.21; 1860–70, 8.80.

	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Totals.....	7,359,180	9,188,133	10,686,281	13,305,941	15,961,891	18,152,180

Total per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 24.85; 1830–40,16.30; 1840–50, 24.51; 1850–60, 20.00; 1860–70, 13.32.

Tables showing an analysis of the population of the United States—Continued.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY STATES.

STATES.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Ohio	581,295	937,903	1,519,467	1,980,329	2,339,511	2,665,151
Michigan	8,765	31,693	212,267	397,654	749,113	1,184,059
Kentucky	564,135	687,917	779,828	982,405	1,155,684	1,321,011
Indiana	147,178	343,031	685,866	988,416	1,350,428	1,680,637
Illinois	55,161	157,445	476,183	851,470	1,711,951	2,539,891
Iowa	.....	.....	43,112	192,214	674,913	1,191,792
Wisconsin	.....	.....	30,945	305,391	775,881	1,054,670
Tennessee	422,761	681,904	829,210	1,002,717	1,109,801	1,258,520
Missouri	66,557	140,455	383,702	682,044	1,182,012	1,721,295
Arkansas	14,255	30,388	97,574	209,897	435,450	484,167
Minnesota	.....	.....	.....	6,077	172,023	439,706
Kansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	107,206	364,399
Nebraska	.....	.....	.....	.....	28,841	122,993
	1,860,107	3,010,736	5,058,154	7,598,614	11,792,841	16,028,291

Per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 61.86; 1830–40, 68.00; 1840–50, 50.20; 1850–60, 55.20; 1860–70, 37.61.

GULF STATES.

STATES.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Alabama	127,901	209,527	590,756	771,623	964,201	996,992
Mississippi	75,448	136,621	375,651	606,526	791,305	827,922
Louisiana	152,923	215,739	324,411	517,762	708,002	726,915
Texas	.....	.....	.....	212,592	604,215	812,996
	356,272	661,887	1,290,818	2,108,503	3,067,725	3,364,825

Per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 85.63; 1830–40, 95.43; 1840–50, 63.35; 1850–60, 45.50; 1860–70, 9.68.

	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Totals	2,249,418	3,712,457	6,392,684	9,937,622	15,595,430	20,397,807

Total per cent. of increase for each decade: 1820–30, 65.04; 1830–40, 72.19; 1840–50, 55.44; 1859–60, 56.93; 1860–70, 30.79.

PACIFIC STATES AND TERRITORIES.

STATES.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.
California	.....	.....	.....	92,597	379,994	560,247
Nevada	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,857	42,491
Oregon	.....	.....	.....	13,294	52,465	90,923
Territories	33,039	39,834	43,712	124,614	295,577	311,030
	33,039	39,834	43,712	230,505	734,893	1,004,691

Per cent. of increase for each decade: 1850–60, 218.82; 1860–70, 36.71.

Tables showing an analysis of the population of the United States—Continued.

LOCATION OF POPULATION.

Year.	Whole Population.	Population of Atlantic Slope.	Per cent. of whole.	Population of Miss. Valley and Pacific States.	Per cent. of whole.	Population of Up. Mississippi Valley States.	Per cent. of whole.
1820	9,639,190	7,359,180	76.66⅔	2,249,418	23.33⅓	1,860,107	19.30
1830	12,866,020	9,188,133	71.16⅔	3,712,457	28.83⅓	3,010,736	23.70
1840	17,069,453	10,686,281	62.50	6,392,684	37.50	5,058,154	29.62½
1850	23,191,876	13,305,941	57.12½	9,937,622	42.87½	7,598,614	32.75
1860	31,443,321	15,961,891	50.50	15,595,430	49.50	11,792,814	37.50
1870	38,549,987	18,152,824	47.10	20,397,807	52.90	16,028,291	41.60

PROBABLE FUTURE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Whole Population.	Population of Atlantic Slope.	Per cent. of whole.	Population of Miss. Valley and Pacific Slope.	Per cent. of whole.	Population of Up. Mississippi Valley States.	Per cent. of whole.
1880	50,885,983	20,990,470	41.25	29,895,513	58.75	23,407,552	46
1890	67,169,497	23,602,248	35.25	43,567,249	64.75	33,920,596	50.50
1900	88,663,736	26,044,873	29.37½	62,618,863	70.62½	48,765,055	55
1910	107,036,130	26,153,490	23.50	81,153,490	76.50	63,579,461	59.40

Of this entire population there is not an average of fourteen to the square mile of our vast domain, exclusive of Alaska. But, from the rapid increase of our people, may we not look for all these numbers to be swelled far beyond our ordinary conception in the brief space of a lifetime? The increase of population in the Northwest, during the decade between 1850 and 1860, was 67.9 per cent., while the ratio of increase in the whole country was 35.52. The popular vote of 1852 shows the Northwest to have cast 29.46 per cent. of the entire vote. But, aside from any local causes that may have existed to produce a more rapid increase of population in one locality than another, there is an exact law of human development which, when properly applied, solves this problem of population with exact mathematical accuracy. Malthus laid down the law to be this: that the productive power of healthy, well-clad, well-fed, and well-lodged people, was so great that fully two children would be born for every person who died within a given time. There-

fore he fixed thirty-three years as the time necessary for any people to double their number. George Combe, commenting upon the doctrine of Malthus, wrote that in the new States of North America the population doubled every twenty-five years, independent of immigration.

Dr. Elder, a prominent writer on political economy in our own land, writes that our population doubles every twenty-three and a half years; and the recent calculations of our government are based upon twenty-three years as the time necessary for doubling. With these facts before us, what may we not expect to be our increase before the century closes? Taking the calculation of Dr. Elder as being correct, may we not assume that, before the century expires, more than 100,000,000 people will occupy the present area of our country? And with increased facilities for immigration and the rapid development of our resources, the child is now born that will see more than 300,000,000 people residing upon our present domain.

Of these, not more than 70,000,000 will inhabit the Atlantic Slope, while more than 230,000,000 will inhabit the interior plain and the region beyond it.

COMMERCE.

Let us pass from the subject of population to a consideration of the commerce of the country. And here I must express my regret that I cannot present a full analysis of the facts which our new census will reveal; yet I am pleased to be able to make my argument strong with the facts at my command. The Atlantic seaboard of the United States extends about 3,500 miles, and the Mississippi and its tributaries afford an inland navigation of 30,000 miles, upon the bosom of which now floats an amount of commerce three times as great in value as the whole foreign commerce of the country.

In former times our trade with foreign parts was looked upon as our most important interest. It is now dwarfed in comparison by the transportation and handling of domestic produce for domestic markets.

In 1867 the entire products of the United States were $1,900-000,000. Its exports were less than one-fifth of this amount, leaving four-fifths to be exchanged between the States. It is said that at the present time not more than one-fifteenth of the business of New York city is based upon foreign commerce.

From the returns of the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, made for 1869, the following analysis is made of the leading crops of the country:

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES NAMED BELOW.

ARTICLES.	N. England States.	Cent. Atlantic States.	South Atlantic States.	Totals.
Wheat, bushels.....	1,547,600	47,663,000	6,961,300	56,171,900
Corn..... "	8,665,000	89,800,000	56,100,000	163,565,000
Oats..... "	13,788,000	105,630,000	5,573,000	124,991,000
Swine.....number.	437,420	9,358,960	5,349,670	15,146,050
Young Cattle..... "	938,740	4,563,210	1,929,080	7,431,030
Horses..... "	286,771	2,244,112	484,275	3,015,158
Mules and Asses.. "	647	114,472	340,930	456,049
Milch Cows..... "	742,820	3,529,050	872,870	5,144,740
Sheep..... ..... "	2,392,170	7,371,461	1,936,190	11,699,821
Hay, tons.....	4,521,000	8,545,000	279,000	13,345,000

ARTICLES.	Upper Mississippi Valley States.	Lower Mississippi Valley States.	Pacific States.	Totals.
Wheat, bushels.....	178,720,000	2,497,000	26,750,000	207,967,000
Corn..... "	600,350,000	100,050,000	10,255,000	710,655,000
Oats..... "	155,639,000	2,104,000	5,500,000	163,243,000
Swine.....number.	23,606,260	6,770,811	2,462,810	32,839,827
Young Cattle.... "	7,979,973	4,261,665	1,641,130	13,882,768
Horses..... "	5,734,676	981,503	350,411	7,066,590
Mules and Asses "	589,560	453,897	8,241	1,051,638
Milch Cows..... "	4,074,795	1,359,278	1,410,112	6,844,185
Sheep..... ..... "	13,638,151	2,630,572	2,182,260	18,450,983
Hay, tons	11,196,000	173,000	655,000	12,024,000

VALUES OF THE FOLLOWING NAMED ARTICLES IN 1869.

ARTICLES.	New England States.	Central Atlantic States.	South Atlantic States.	Totals.
Wheat.....	$ 2,600,180	$ 61,783,380	$ 11,426,870	$ 75,811,430
Corn.....	11,398,700	89,096,000	36,562,500	137,059,200
Oats.....	9,630,720	53,463,766	254,010	63,348,496
Domestic Animals.....	81,595,143	228 273,323	106,021,375	475,889,841
Hay.....	76,613,750	128,092,700	4,571,340	209,277,790
Total.....	$181,839,493	$620,709,169	$158,836,095	$961,384,757

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES—CONTINUED.

ARTICLES.	Upper Mississippi Valley.	Lower Mississippi Valley.	Pacific States.	Totals.
Wheat	$ 142,979,200	$ 4,161,350	$ 25,742,500	$ 172,883,050
Corn	328,311,500	103,184,500	6,132,000	437,628,000
Oats	64,477 340	1,680,200	3,723,000	69,887,540
Domestic Animals	542,596,670	178,685,990	58,525,272	779,807,932
Hay	105,555,920	3,695,240	7,159,800	116,410,960
Total	1,183,920,630	291,414,280	101,282,572	1,576,617,482

Of the total value of wheat, corn, oats and hay raised in the United States in 1869, $1,282,304,466, the States of the Valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific Slope raised $706,809,550, or over 62 per cent. of the whole. Of the total value of domestic animals in the United States in 1869, $1,255,697,773, the States of the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific Slope owned $797,807,-932, or 62 per cent. of the whole. Of the total value of the wheat, corn, oats and hay raised and the domestic animals owned in the United States in 1869, $2,538,002,239, the States of the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific Slope raised and owned $1,576,617,482, or more than 62 per cent. of the whole.

The Mississippi drains 2,445,000 square miles, which is more than half the number of square miles in the United States. The surface contains 768,000,000 acres of the finest land in the world. It has space for one hundred and fifty States the size of Massachusetts, and, were its population in the same proportion, it would contain more than five times the present population of the whole United States. At this time not more than one acre in five is under cultivation, and the vast resources of coal and minerals have hardly begun to be fairly developed. The value of the commerce of the Mississippi is estimated at $2,000,000; and the Agricultural Bureau, basing its calculations upon past results, estimate that the cereal products of the Northwest will in 1900 amount to 3,121,970,000 bushels. In addition to these vast statements of wealth, we are enabled to bring in as reinforcements the productions and commerce of the Pacific Slope, which in itself has the strength and value of an empire, and far transcends the commerce of the old government of 1790; and in whatsoever manner we examine the commerce of our

country, whether interiorly, upon the lakes, adjoining the Gulf, or upon the Pacific Slope, we find the assurance that in either case a few more years will show an equal if not greater commerce than the Atlantic Slope can afford.

There are now in the United States more than 54,000 miles of railway, three-fifths of which lie west of the Appalachian mountains, in the Valley States and Pacific Slope. The entire roads of the country are assessed at $14,334,343,475. Our vast country is not yet half supplied with roads. Another twenty-five years will almost double the number of miles already built. In addition to the wonderful system of railways, who can conceive of the mightiness of our future shipping upon the ocean and inland waters, all of which will contribute to swell our national greatness at home and our fame abroad?

POLITICAL.

There are also political reasons why the Capital should be removed to the West. The balance of power in the National Legislature has already passed west of the Appalachian mountains, and belongs to the States and Territories lying beyond. And when we consider how great the disproportion will be in the National Legislature when the "New West" is carved into States, we cannot fail to see the justness of the demand for a more central location of the National Capital.

Look at the facts for one moment. The Atlantic Slope has an area of 423,197 square miles, which is divided into seventeen States. Under the Constitution they are all allowed thirty-four Senators and one hundred and twenty Representatives in the National Legislature. The Mississippi Valley has an area of 2,445,000 square miles, with less than one-third of its territory made into States. It now has eighteen States, which, under the Federal Constitution, are allowed thirty-six Senators and one hundred and fifteen Representatives in the National Legislature. The Pacific Slope has an area of 627,256 square miles, part of which is made into three States, which are entitled to six Senators and five Representatives in the National Legislature. Alaska has an area of 577,390 square miles, and is large enough to make more than fourteen States as large as Ohio. Another view shows 860,000 square miles east of the Mississippi river, which is already divided into twenty-seven States, including Louisiana and West Virginia. These send fifty-four Senators

and two hundred and five Representatives to the National Legislature. West of the Mississippi river we have 2,070,000 square miles, exclusive of Alaska, which, at the least calculation, ought to be made into fifty new States, each one of them being larger than Ohio, and containing 40,000 square miles.

Again, the States of the Atlantic Slope have thirty-four Senators and one hundred and twenty Representatives in the National Legislature. The Mississippi Valley, together with the Pacific Slope, has forty-two Senators and one hundred and twenty Representatives. This places the balance of power in the Senate west of the Alleghanies, and makes an equal representation in the House of Representatives. But this will not long remain the order of political representation in the National Legislature. Not only will the West gain by the apportionment under the new census, but new States will also succeed each other in coming into the Union, as we go forward in our national growth and progress.

With these political facts before us, are we to remain blind and dumb to what they foreshadow, touching the future legislation of the country — the future development and organization of political power on the continent? Who can be so stupid as to argue for one moment that a majority of the people's representatives will not soon order by act of Congress the removal of the Capital from the barren shores of the Potomac to the grand valley of the Mississippi? If there be any man so foolish as to think that the majority cannot rule on this question, let me advise him to reverse his judgment, for no power on earth can enforce such an absurdity anywhere under the shield of the Constitution. It will prove to be a more heathen declaration than that of Xerxes writing to Mount Athos, and ordering it to get out of the way of his march, or his vain attempt to chain the Hellespont and stay its ebbing waves; or than that of Mohammed, asking the mountain to come to him. The sequel showed that Mohammed had to go to the mountain; and with equal propriety may it be said that the National Capital will and must gravitate to the great center of population.

Aside from the question of numerical and political power which belongs to the West, and its claims as the center of our territory, there is a paramount necessity for locating the seat of government of the nation in the midst of its material power. The life of a nation is made doubly secure when united with the

strongest and greatest commercial and material interests of her people; for, thus united, they complement each other, and the security and perpetuity of the one becomes the security for the perpetuity of the other. Nothing can be more absurd than to imagine that the life and perpetuity of this Republic is as secure for the future, with the seat of government at Washington — a distant place on the outskirts of the country, with no material power or prestige — as it would be in a central position in the Mississippi Valley, where the great vitalizing heart of the Republic is destined to beat in harmony with its onward progress and greatness.

IV. CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT.

Having presented an incontestable array of arguments, facts and figures to prove an entirely different state of things in the political, commercial and material character of our country than that which existed at the time of the location of the present Capital, thus proving beyond question the necessity of a change of location, I will now present, as subordinate to the argument, a synopsis of discussions made in Congress, at different times in our country's history, upon the subject of Capital removal. To save unnecessary labor in this matter, I here quote from a paper prepared from the debates by Mr. George Alfred Townsend, as follows:

"The main argument of the tradesmen and property-holders of the village of Washington, for the retention of the Capital among them, is that this spot was 'consecrated by the preference of all the patriots.' It is so common for statements of this kind to be made without authority and circulated through ignorance, that I recently took opportunity to overhaul the venerable 'Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States,' published by Gales & Seaton, as well as the debates of later Congresses, published by John C. Rives, to see upon what foundation stood the warrior's pride. And, as I anticipated, the forefathers approached this subject with the same practical sagacity which we are called upon to assume in reconsidering it. They looked for no omens or sacred birds to fix their choice. They took Washington City as a compromise against the wish of a majority of them, and particularly against the wish of the Eastern States and Middle States people and statesmen. They spoke of the importance of getting as far

westward as possible, as far back as 1789, and they did go as far West as practicable, considering the narrow strand of population and the condition of American highways at that time. From the moment Washington was fixed upon, the common sense of the East revolted, and a smothered dislike of the site was manifested till 1814, when by three several votes it was resolved to go to a city further north, and this resolution obtained the vote of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina, and the removal was only prevented by the extraordinary efforts of the people of Washington village, who built at their own expense a new edifice for Congress—since called the Old Capitol Prison. After this the discontent continued, till, in 1846, Alexandria, with more pride than Washington, demanded to be retroceded to Virginia, so that she could have a self-existent anatomy; and then the call for a movement into the valley of the Mississippi became distinct and decided. That there may be no mistake in this matter, I append all the material points of the debates extant, of the three periods referred to. There is not the remotest indication anywhere that Washington City would have had a ghost of a chance for being the Capital site ten years after its foundation. Virginia alone kept the seat of government on the Potomac."

Washington Selected in Deference to the West.

On the 27th of August, 1789, Congress sitting in New York city, Mr. Scott, of Pennsylvania, introduced the resolution in Congress which provided for a permanent Capital, in these words:

Resolved, That a permanent residence ought to be fixed for the General Government of the United States at some convenient place, as near the center of wealth, population and extent of territory as may be consistent with convenience to the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, and having due regard to the particular situation of the western country.

The terms of this resolution are almost exactly applicable to the present movement for readjusting "the center of wealth, population and territory."

Among the few debaters recorded on this proposition were Scott, Jackson of Georgia, Goodhue of Massachusetts, Lee of Virginia, and the illustrious James Madison.

Goodhue "favored the Susquehanna, either at Harrisburg or opposite Havre de Grace."

Jackson said that "upon this subject depended the existence of the Union. The place of the seat of government was important in every point of view. It might be compared to the heart of the human body; it was a center from which the principles of life were carried to the extremities, and from these might return again with precision."

In 1869 Jackson would have found this heart in the extremities, like the bulb in a thermometer.

Scott thought "the principles of the Union were the principles of equal justiice and reciprocity. He conceived the question now before the House as grand a link as any in the Federal chain. The future tranquillity of the United States depended as much on this as on any other question that ever had or could come before Congress. It was a justice due to the extremities of the continent to adopt such a measure."

Had Scott so spoken in these days he would have been accused, in the garbage prints of Washington, of "speculating in St. Louis corner lots!"

Mr. Lee, of Virginia (Light Horse Harry), said: "A place as nearly central as a convenient communication with the Atlantic Ocean and an easy access to the Western territory will permit, ought to be selected and established as the permanent seat of the government of the United States. Will gentlemen say that the center of government should not be the center of the Union? Will they say our Western brethern are to be disregarded? These are momentous considerations, which should lead the House to a conclusion. If they are disregarded it will be an alarming circumstance to the people of the Southern States, who have felt their alarms already."

This was the same man who delivered over Washington the funeral eulogy of "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." He was Washington's neighbor, and his argument is directly in the line of the Mississippi Valley.

The entire argument of those urging the Potomac for the site of the Capital was that it was the highway to the West, and that the West should be consulted, while the Northern men pressed the Susquehanna as being the true route westward.

Madison on a New Capital Site.

Perhaps the greatest authority, however, was the illustrious James Madison, who spoke as follows on September 3, 1789:

"An equal attention to the rights of the community is the basis of republics. If we consider, sir, the effects of legislative power on the aggregate community, we must feel equal inducements to look for the center in order to find the present seat of government. Those who are most adjacent to the seat of legislation will always possess advantages over others. An earlier knowledge of the laws, a greater influence in enacting them, and a thousand other circumstances, will give a superiority to those who are thus situated. If we consider the influence of the Government in the Executive Department, there is no less reason to conclude that it ought to be placed in the center of the Union. It ought to be in a situation to command information from every part of the Union; to watch every conjecture; to seize every circumstance that can be improved. The Executive eye ought to be placed where it can best see the dangers which threaten; and the Executive arm whence it may be extended most effectually to the protection of every part. In the Judiciary Department, if it is not equally necessary, it is highly important that the Government should be equally accessible to all. With respect to the Western territory, we are not now to expect it, for it would be an affront to the understanding of our fellow-citizens of the Western waters, that they will be united with their Atlantic brethren on any principle than that of equality and justice. We had every inducement, both of interest and prudence, to fix on the Potomac as most satisfactory to our Western brethren. He defied any gentleman to cast his eye, in the most cursory manner, over a map and say that the Potomac is not much nearer this center than any part of the Susquehanna. He granted that the present center of population is nearer the Susquehanna than the Potomac. But are we choosing a seat of government for the present moment only? He presumed not!"

This speech was quoted in 1846 in favor of the removal of the Capital to the Ohio, by Mr. Pennybacker, in Congress. There is not a word in it which does not justify and encourage the present movement for a new Capital city in the great Western Valley. A committee of seven were appointed to select a central site, by a vote of only 72 to 71; and at the head of this committee was Mr. Fisk of New York.

The Removal Agitation in 1814.

On the 26th of December, 1814, Mr. Fisk, of New York, rose in the House and introduced the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of removing the seat of government, during the present session of Congress, to a place of greater security and less inconvenience than the City of Washington, with leave to report by bill or otherwise."

By a vote of 79 to 37 the resolution was taken into immediate consideration, and debated till October 15. At this time the Capitol wings were in ashes, and Congress met in the unfinished Patent Office. I append the material extracts from the debates.

Mr. Fisk, of New York—"Where shall Congress sit with safety and convenience? Some designate one place, some another; but few imagine that the councils of the nation will continue here. The confidence and the credit of the nation are identified with the security of the public councils and the safety of the public records."

Mr. Lewis, of Virginia—"A temporary removal only is contemplated; but once started, the Capital will never return. For the last ten or twelve years similar attempts have been made."

Mr. Fisk, of New York—"On a removal to any other place, the inconveniences of this would appear by contrast so strongly that the Government could never be induced to return."

Mr. Grosvenor, of New York—"The gentleman from South Carolina conceives that a removal will be striking our colors. 'Wait,' says that gentleman, 'till the enemy comes and chases you off.' That is the very dishonor I dread from remaining—the very disgrace I wish to avoid. The gentleman from Tennessee says if his house was burned he would not move off his farm. But suppose a neighbor would politely offer him a clean bed and excellent food and accommodations, would he refuse the use of them and rather sleep in his barn? Let gentlemen ask themselves fairly, were they willing to appropriate the money of the people of the United States to build a Capitol where it might be destroyed in twenty days? Let them remove to a place of safety, where it would not be necessary to expend $10,000,000 or $15,000,000, or any other sum, for the simple defense of Congress."

Mr. Oakley, of New York—"It was owing to the forbearance of the British that Congress had now a single roof to cover their

heads. They had been told that this place was defensible up to the moment the enemy arrived. Immediately afterward another city on the Atlantic coast had been attacked. Whatever respect he might feel for the inhabitants of this District, their interests could not for a moment enter into competition with the interests of the nation."

Mr. Hansow, of Maryland, "entertained very great contempt for the people of Washington."

The Speaker, Langdon Cheves, S. C., said: "This District cannot be defended except at immense expense—an expense, perhaps, half that required to carry on the war."

Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, made his maiden speech in favor of removal, October 5, 1814. He said: "Gentlemen had only to look around to survey the District to judge correctly. A permanent seat of government is not required by the Constitution. A power to fix the seat of government for centuries—forever—who can believe that the people of the United States would have invested such a power in the Congress of 1789?—a power to fix a permanent seat of government, without regard to the alterations, improvements, resolutions and changes which would naturally be produced by a good government, an increasing population, and the settlement of the vast regions of the Western country. No, sir. The great Washington landlord was not to be compensated because he converted barren land into city lots, and made a fortune out of his sales. Was he to be compensated because he was prevented from making more? The speculator, too, must abide by his loss. The Government minion was not to be paid for being torn from his hold! The people of this District were entitled to no more than the same kind of defense afforded to their fellow-citizens. The removal of the Capital ought to be decided on principles exclusively public. He had made up his mind, with reluctance, that a removal was essential to the honor and interests of the nation. The dispersion and capture of the members of Congress would gratify the pride and resentment of the English nation more than any other operations their army on the coast could perform. The Military Committee estimated that 20,000 men, costing $30,000 a day, could defend the Capital. The people of the country would not stand this one month, one week, or one day!"

Other Voices of 1814.

Mr. Pearson, of North Carolina, said at the same time: "From the first moment we met here we have found almost every member north of Maryland, and a few of the hardy sons of the West, apparently dissatisfied with their accommodations."

Mr. Grosvenor, of New York, alluded to the disposition of the friends of the District to kill the bill by forcing a vote upon it in empty session, and said: "Until the permanence of this site be decided by a full vote, there is not one citizen who ought to have confidence in Washington City. Gentlemen ought to deal liberally, and let the business take the usual course; otherwise, perpetual agitation would ensue."

Mr. Fisk, of New York, said that "we are now 400 miles from the most important seat of war, and the cost of daily and expeditious communication with the lake frontier amounted to a greater sum than the removal of the public offices. To have all these inconveniences merely in consideration of the interests of the people of this District, would be perverting the constitutional principle which gives Congress exclusive legislation over this District, and, instead of that, would be giving the District control over Congress."

Mr. Wright, of Maryland, was not willing any longer to suspend the people of this city by their eyelids. He hoped they would come to a speedy and eternal decision.

Among those who voted for removal were Daniel Webster, Mr. Alston of North Carolina, Ezra Butler, Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, Kent of New York, Cyrus King of Massachusetts, Timothy Pickering, John Reed, and Richard Stockton.

Retrocession of Alexandria.

Another strong demonstration of the state of feeling on this subject was exhibited on the 8th of May, 1846, and at various sessions before and subsequent to that time and the date of the retrocession of Alexandria. It was on this question that the voice of the West was first heard for removal. Senator William Allen, on July 2, said:

"The location of the seat of government on the Eastern seaboard gave the commercial cities a preponderating influence in the councils of the United States—five hundred-fold to one over the same number of people in the vast interior. They had no

committees from the banks of the Missouri, or even the Ohio, 'lobbying' in these halls to regulate tariff duties. No; they had no association in those Western regions, and delegates to the Capital with the view of obtaining laws to meet the views of individual and sectional interests, instead of the wants and the wishes of the great men of the nation. Fifteen hours before a bill was introduced into Congress, Wall street had knowledge of it, and a delegation was on hand to regulate the details of the bill. Thus had their tariffs been formed; thus the commercial interest overruled all others. The great men of the people lived on the soil—four-fifths of them—and it was in the center that the seat of government should be located. The Alexandrians seem to have had no fear of losing the Capital."

Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, "spoke of the importance of the retrocession to the people of Alexandria, and depicted in glowing colors the blight that had fallen on that city by reason of her dependence on the General Government; her declining commerce; her premature decay; the desolation which had come upon her, not by the scourge of God, but by the hands of man.',

Mr. Bayley, of Accomac, Va., "asked Congress to decide the question of retrocession upon its own merits, with reference solely to national considerations, and without any sort of reference to the local interests or influence of Virginia."

John A. McClernand, of Illinois, said that Congress had full power to change the location of seat of government, and in that case, by the operation of law, the District, including territory and people, would revert to the State ceding it.

W. W. Payne, of Alabama, "objected to the bill because we had paid a very large amount of money for the portion of the District of Columbia south of the river Potomac. Was it contemplated to refund this money—not less than $1,000,000? The true object of this bill was to saddle the debt of the corporation of Alexandria upon Congress—another $1,000,000."

Finally, the old Missouri Trojan expressed himself upon the Washington Monument question—a similar scheme to the big Fair first projected here by sundry plumbers and newspaper carriers.

Mr. Thomas H. Benton, in the Senate, January 8, 1848, said: "I am entirely opposed to any action by which an association of individuals can lay hold of the name of the United States for the purpose of going abroad to levy contri-

butions on the human race. If individuals assume to erect a monument, let them do it as individuals, but let no opportunity be afforded them of using the name of the Congress of the United States in furtherance of their individual schemes."

Thus stands history on the removal of the Capital. The voice of self-sacrificing patriotism calls us to look for the center of population, present and to come; to cease expending money on the verge of the East, but to "build deep and strong the everlasting Jerusalem, upon the bank of humanity's Jordan—the river of the Mississippi Valley."

I would ask especial attention to the soundness of the argument made by Mr. Madison, and how nearly like it have the friends of Capital removal made their arguments in the recent discussions.

V. THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF REMOVAL.

But there are those who are ready to say that although the argument is good, there is a constitutional question in the way. In answer to this, it is only necessary to refer to the provision in the Constitution relating to the subject of the Nation's Capital, and the action of Congress in reference to the present location—facts which take precedence over all technical objections. Referring to the "Federalist," I find that the Constitution of the United States, as agreed on in Convention, September 17, 1787, and which was adopted September 13, 1788, contains the following clause:

Article I, under section 8: "That Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such District, not exceeding ten miles square, as may, by session of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings."

Now I wish it to be borne in mind that the above is the only clause in the Constitution touching the subject of the seat of government, and that, while the Constitution was adopted September 13, 1788, the bill for the removal of the Capital from New York to its present place was passed July 9, 1790, by the first Congress during its second session. Now, sir, I hold it to be true that the Constitution was framed and adopted without

any possible reference to a special and permanent location of the seat of government. In fact, several efforts were made, before and after the adoption of the Constitution, to secure the Capital at different places. Congress sat a while at Philadelphia, then at Princeton, New Jersey, from thence adjourned to Annapolis. In October, 1783, it was resolved that buildings for the use of Congress should be erected on the banks of the Delaware. A few days later a resolution was offered that buildings for a similar purpose should be erected on the Potomac, some members conceiving that there was no way to settle the question but to have two Capitals. More especial reference to the legislation of Congress upon the subject of the present location of the Capital will still more prove the absurdity of the pretense to a permanent location of the Capital at its present place. Again, in the debates upon the bill which resulted in the location of the Capital at its present place, some members desired its permanent location. M. Madison replied to such: "It is not in our power to guard against a repeal. Our acts are not like those of the Medes and Persians, unalterable; a repeal is a thing against which no provision can be made."

The following act locating the seat of government at its present place was passed by the first Congress, July 16, 1790, while in session at New York:

AN ACT for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States.—[First Congress, Sess. ii, ch. 28, U. S. Statutes at Large.]

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That a district of territory, not exceeding ten miles square, to be located as hereafter directed, on the river Potomac, at some place between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and Connogochague, be, and the same is hereby, accepted for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States: *Provided, nevertheless*, That the operation of the laws of the State within such district shall not be affected by this acceptance until the time fixed for the removal of the Government thereto, and until Congress shall otherwise by law provide.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States be authorized to appoint, and, by supplying vacancies happening from refusals to act or other causes, to keep in appointment as long as may be necessary, three commissioners, who, or any two of them, shall, under direction of the President, survey, and, by proper metes and bounds, define and limit a district of territory under the limitations above-mentioned; and the district so defined, limited, and located shall be deemed the district accepted by this act for the permanent seat of government of the United States.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Commissioners, or any two of them, shall have power to purchase or accept such quantity of land on the eastern side of the said river, within the said district, as the President shall deem proper for the use of the United States; and, according to such plans as the President shall approve, the said commissioners, or any two of them, shall, prior to the first Monday in December, in the year one thousand eight hundred, provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of Congress and the President, and for the public offices of the Government of the United States.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That for defraying the expense of such purchases and buildings the President of the United States shall be authorized and requested to accept grants of money.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted,* That prior to the first Monday in December next all offices attached to the seat of government of the United States shall be removed to, and until the said first Monday in December, in the year one thousand eight hundred, shall remain at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, at which place the session of Congress next ensuing the present shall be held.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted,* That on the said first Monday in December, in the year one thousand eight hundred, the seat of the Government of the United States shall by virtue of this act be transferred to the district and place aforesaid, and all offices attached to the said seat of government shall accordingly be removed thereto by their respective holders, and shall after the said day, cease to be exercised elsewhere; and that the necessary expense of such removal shall be defrayed out of the duties on imports and tonnage, of which a sufficient sum is hereby appropriated.

Approved July 16, 1790.

The following amendatory act was also passed by the First Congress, March 3, 1791, after the temporary removal of the seat of government to Philadelphia:

AN ACT to amend an act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That so much of the act entitled "An act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of government of the United States," as requires that the whole of the district of territory, not exceeding ten miles square, to be located on the river Potomac for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States, shall be located above the mouth of the Eastern Branch, be, and is hereby, repealed, and that it shall be lawful for the President to make any part of the territory below the said limit and above the mouth of Hunting Creek a part of the said district, so as to include a convenient part of the Eastern Branch and of the lands lying on the lower side thereof, and also the town of Alexandria; and the territory so to be included shall form a part of the district, not exceeding ten miles square, for the permanent seat of Government of the United States, in like manner and to all intents and purposes as if the same had been within the perview of the above recited act: *Provided,* That nothing herein contained shall authorize the erection of the public buildings otherwise than on the Maryland side of the river Potomac, as required by the aforesaid act.

Approved March 3, 1791.

The following act passed May 6, 1796, by the Fourth Congress, while sitting at Philadelphia, provides for the public expense necessary to the permanent establishment of the seat of government at Washington City, to which place it was removed in 1800:

AN ACT authorizing a loan for the use of the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes herein mentioned.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the commissioners under the act entitled "An act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States," be, and they are hereby, authorized, under the direction of the President of the United States, to borrow, from time to time, such sum or sums of money as the said President shall direct, not

exceeding three hundred thousand dollars in the whole, and not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars in any one year, at an interest not exceeding six per centum per annum, and reimbursable at any time after the year one thousand eight hundred and three, by installments not exceeding one-fifth of the whole sum borrowed in any one year; which said loan or loans shall be appropriated and applied by the said commissioners in carrying into effect the above-recited act, under the control of the President of the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all the lots, except those now appropriated to public use in the said city, vested in the commissioners aforesaid, or in trustees, in any manner, for the use of the United States, now holden and remaining unsold, shall be and are hereby declared and made chargeable with the repayment of all and every sum and sums of money, and interest thereupon, which shall be borrowed in pursuance of this act; and to the end that the same may be fully and punctually repaid, the said lots, or so many of them as shall be necessary, shall be sold and conveyed at such times, and in such manner, and on such terms, as the President of the United States for the time being shall direct; and the moneys arising from the said sales shall be applied and appropriated, under his direction, to the discharge of the said loans, after first paying the original proprietors any balances due them respectively, according to their several conveyance to the said commissioners or trustees. And if the product of the sales of all the said lots shall prove inadequate to the payment of the principal and interest of the sum borrowed under this act, then the deficiencies shall be paid by the United States, agreeably to the terms of the said loans; for it is expressly hereby declared and provided that the United States shall be liable only for the repayment of the balance of the moneys to be borrowed under this act, which shall remain unsatisfied by the sales of all the lots aforesaid, if any such balance shall thereafter happen.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That every purchaser or purchasers, his or their heirs or assigns, from the said commissioners or trustees, under the direction of the said President, of any of the lots hereinbefore mentioned, after paying the price and fulfilling the terms stipulated and agreed to be paid and fulfilled, shall have, hold, and enjoy the said lot or lots so bought, free, clear, and exonerated from the charge and encumbrance hereby laid upon the same.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the commissioners aforesaid shall semi-annually render to the secretary of the treasury a particular account of the receipts and expenditures of all moneys intrusted to them, and also the progress and state of the business, and of the funds under their administration, and that the said secretary lay the same before Congress at every session after the receipt thereof.

Approved May 6, 1796.

We deem it proper next to refer to the acts of cession of Maryland and Virginia in relation to the District of Columbia. These acts are quoted to show the precise terms upon which the cession was made.

The following are the acts of cession of Maryland:

Act of November, 1788.

AN ACT to cede to Congress a district of ten miles square in this State for the seat of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Representatives of this State in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, appointed to assemble at New York on the first Wednesday of March next, be, and they are hereby, authorized and required, on the behalf of this State, to cede to the Congress of the United States any district in this State not exceeding ten miles square, which the Congress may fix upon and accept for the seat of government of the United States.

AN ACT concerning the territory of Columbia and the city of Washington. [Lib. J. G. No. 1, fol. 431; Supplements number 1792, ch. 59, 1793, ch. 58.]

2. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland,* That all of that part of the said territory called Columbia, which lies within the limits of this State, shall be and the same is hereby acknowledged to be forever ceded and relinquished to the Congress and Government of the United States, in full and absolute right, and exclusive jurisdiction, as well of soil as of persons residing, or to reside, thereon, pursuant to the tenor and effect of eighth section of the first article of the Constitution of Government of the United States: *Provided,* That nothing herein contained shall be so construed to vest in the United States any right of property in the soil, or to affect the rights of individuals therein, otherwise than the same shall or may be transferred by such individuals to the United States: *And provided also,* That the jurisdiction of the laws of this State over the persons or property of individuals residing within the limits of the cession aforesaid shall not cease or determine until Congress shall by law provide for the government thereof, under their jurisdiction in manner provided by the article of the Constitution before recited.

In passing we remark that in another section of this act of cession there is to be found the condition that liquor shall not be sold in the District in a less quantity than ten gallons at one time, thus securing temperance forever in the District; but one that seems not to be binding and effectual.

The following is the act of cession of Virginia:

AN ACT for the cession of ten miles square, or any lesser quantity of territory within this State to the United States in Congress assembled, for the permanent seat of the General Government. [Passed the 3d of December, 1789.]

SECTION 1. Whereas the equal and common benefits resulting from the administration of the General Government will be best diffused, and its operations become more prompt and certain, by establishing such a situation for the seat of the said government as will be most central and convenient to the citizens of the United States at large, having regard as well to population, extent of territory, and a free navigation to the Atlantic Ocean, through the Chesapeake Bay, as to the most direct and ready communication with our fellow-citizens in the Western frontiers; and whereas it appears to this assembly that a situation combining all the considerations and advantages before recited may be had on the banks of the river Potomac, above tide-water, in a country rich and fertile in soil, healthy and salubrious in climate, and abounding in all the necessaries and conveniences of life, where, in a location of ten miles square, if the wisdom of Congress shall so direct, the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia may participate in such location:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That a tract of country, not exceeding ten miles square, or any lesser quantity, to be located within the limits of this State, and in any part thereof as Congress may by law direct, shall be, and the same is hereby, forever ceded and relinquished to the Congress and Government of the United States, in full and absolute right, and exclusive jurisdiction, as well of soil as of persons residing or to reside thereon, pursuant to the tenor and effect of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution of the Government of the United States.

SEC. 2. *Provided,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed to vest in the United States any right of property in the soil, or to affect the rights of individuals therein, otherwise than the same shall or may be transferred by such individuals to the United States.

SEC. 3. *And provided also,* That the jurisdiction of the laws of this Commonwealth, over the persons and property of individuals residing within the limits of the cession aforesaid, shall not cease or determine until Congress, having accepted the said cession, shall by law provide for the government thereof, under their jurisdiction, in manner provided by the article of the Constitution before recited.

It will be seen by this that in 1789 the General Assembly of Virginia, in the solemn act of cession, declared that "*the equal and common benefits resulting from the administration of the General Government will be best diffused, and its operations become more prompt and certain, by establishing such a situation for the seat of the said Government as will be most central and convenient to the citizens of the United States at large, having regard as well to population, extent of territory, and a free navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, through the Chesapeake Bay, as to the most direct and ready communication with our fellow-citizens in the Western frontier.*"

Again, those who pretend to believe in a constitutional prohibition, couple with their argument the cession of the District of Columbia as the foundation of their faith. Now, what are the facts about that? Was not the Virginia portion of the District of Columbia re-ceded by Congress to the mother State in 1846? Was that act unconstitutional? Was President Polk's proclamation, declaring the retrocession to Virginia, unconstitutional? Did not John C. Calhoun say, in the debate on the subject, that "according to his judgment there could not be any constitutional objection, unless there was somewhere in the Constitution a prohibitory clause? It was in the power of the government to remove its seat if it thought proper, unless there was some express provision to the contrary. Now, he saw no such provision in the Constitution. It belonged to the gentlemen to prove that the retrocession would be unconstitutional. If they had a right, which he held to be incontestable, to remove the seat of government, the right of parting with any portion of it was apparent. The act of Congress, it was true, established this as the permanent seat of government; but they all knew that an act of Congress possessed no perpetuity of obligation."

The Hon. Reverdy Johnson, also being a member of the Senate from Maryland, took part in the discussion on retrocession. He went into a review on the constitutional provision relative to the establishment of a seat of government, and to the proceedings of Congress with regard to its location within the District, and insisted that there was nothing in either to prohibit the retrocession of the ten miles square to the State from which it was taken, or any portion thereof. He supposed that an absolute necessity might arise for the removal of the seat of

government, from the possession of the District by an enemy. Mr. Benton held that the question with him was, whether the people of Alexandria were willing to have the territory receded. The constitutionality involved in the question was finally settled by the passage of the bill and the consequent retrocession. That act of itself ought to be sufficient to settle the constitutionality of the question, and prevent any further foolish cavil upon the subject. No, there is no constitutional obstacle in the way. The Constitution is no more in the way of removing the Capital than it is in the way of removing forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful government buildings. Let no intriguing Washington politician deceive you by the whisperings of a corrupt heart and a weak understanding. Believing I have fully answered this ill-considered objection, I will pass on to a consideration of the proper place for the Capital.

VI. THE PROPER PLACE FOR THE CAPITAL, AND THE REASONS WHY.

1. I lay it down as a law of civilization that human power in any well-regulated government is developed and organized to its greatest capacity in the midst of the productive energies of the country over which the government extends.

2. I lay it down as an axiomatic truth that in a constitutional or representative government, where all the power is in the people, its exercise by the majority inheres in them from the very nature of the government.

In support of these two fundamental propositions I offer all the facts in the geology, the topography, and the climate of our country, as well as all our political and material facts and the rapid tendency of our national growth and civilization, and hold that they all evidence the *justness* and the *prime necessity* of a central location for the National Capital. The new Capital should be located in a place the most convenient and the most accessible to all the citizens of the United States, and the most secure against foreign invasion and domestic insurrection.

Midway in the Valley of the Mississippi, between the two great oceans, the future center of the commerce, manufactures, mineral resources, population, productions, and wealth of this continent can only be found. The geological strata, the con-

figuration, the topography, and the isothermal lines of North America show that the center of the Mississippi basin is the place already designated by Nature as the future seat of a National Government which now controls and will embrace the continent.

The Capital of a government, which embraces a continent, must itself be continental, attesting the magnitude of the power it represents by its own greatness, and by its influence radiating from the center to the remotest circumference.

The old Capital at New York was removed to Washington in 1790, as a place more central to the old colonial States (on the margin of the Atlantic seaboard), and the Capital ought to be removed now for the same reasons that existed then, so as to fix it finally in the present center of the old and new States, in the Valley of the Mississippi, which is as central to the continent as it is to the Republic of the United States. No future acquisitions of territory on this continent could affect the centrality of a Capital located in the middle of the Valley of the Mississippi.

The rapid increase of commerce, of manufactures, of agricultural products, of mineral developments, and of population demonstrate that in a few years this valley, with its tributaries, will contain two-thirds of the population and develop three-fourths of the productions of the United States and Territories; and in fifty years from to-day, upon the ratio of increase for the last half century, it will contain about eight-tenths of all the population and wealth of the nation. As the natural center of the population and wealth of the nation, it is the fit and necessary seat of the political center of the Government, where the people and the Government are necessarily brought in daily contact for the common benefit of both. The Creator has placed the heart in the center of our bodies for the perfection of the circulation of the blood, whose function it is to vitalize and warm our systems; and so a political seat of a representative system like ours should be located at the heart of the country, where the ebb and flow of the tides and currents of political opinion will traverse the most direct route from the center to the extremities and back again. Such a central location of a political power of a representative government will do much to preserve the nation against all forms of anarchy or despotism. The great political considerations point to the establishment of

a central National Capital as one of the necessary safeguards for the preservation of a representative form of government.

The present Capital of the nation is more remote from the Pacific States and Territories than Constantinople is from Great Britain, or St. Petersburg from Spain or Morocco.

VII. PROPHETIC TESTIMONY.

To aid the argument and to strengthen the whole facts which I have thus far presented, I desire to call attention to the prophetic testimony in support of the position of the friends of Capital removal on this question. This part of the subject should properly begin with Plato, when he foresaw

> —— "The lost Atlantides that lay,
> To ancient thought, beyond the waves away."

and come down through the idealistic minds of intervening ages; but, for brevity, I will refer to the Hon. Charles Sumner's Prophetic Voices about America, in the *Atlantic Monthly* of September, 1867, where will be found a vast array of prophetic testimony in favor of the future empire of the American continent. The testimony given in the last half century bears more directly upon the question under consideration, and therefore is in a great measure submitted as follows:

Looking beyond to the future growth of our Continental Government, Henry Clay said, in a speech made in the House of Representatives, January, 1824, on the extension of the Cumberland road, and replying to the opposition of Eastern members to Western improvements: "Not to-day, nor to-morrow, but this Government is to last, I trust, forever; we may at least hope it will endure until the wave of population, cultivation and intelligence shall have washed the Rocky Mountains and mingled with the Pacific. Yes, sir, it is a subject of peculiar delight to me look forward to the proud and happy period when circulation and association between the Atlantic and the Pacific and the Mexican Gulf shall be free and perfect as things are at this moment in England."

In a speech made by Thomas H. Benton in the United States Senate, March 1, 1825, on the occupation of the Oregon river, he said: "Within a century from this day a population greater than that of the present United States will exist on the west side of the Rocky Mountains. I do not deal in paradoxes, but in propositions as easily demonstrated as the problems of

Euclid. Here, then, is the demonstration: Divide one portion of this continent into five equal parts, and there will be found in the Valley of the Mississippi three parts; on the east side of the Alleghany Mountains, one part; on the west of the Rocky Mountains, one part. Population will distribute itself accordingly three parts in the valley, and one part on each of the appurtenant slopes. Within a century the population of the whole will be 160,000,000, of which 100,000,000 will drink the waters which flow into the Mississippi, and 60,000,000 will be found upon the lateral streams which flow east and west, toward the rising and setting sun. The calculation is reducible to mathematical precision. We double our numbers once in twenty-five years, and must continue to do so until the action of the prolific principles in man shall be checked by the same cause which checks it in every race of animals—the stint of food. This cannot happen with us until every acre of our generous soil shall be put in requisition; until the product of more than 1,000,000,000 of acres shall be insufficient to fill the mouths which feed upon them. This will require more people than a century can produce, even at the rate doubling once in twenty-five years—a rate which will give us 160,000,000 in the year 1920; that is to say, 20,000,000 more than the Roman Empire contained in the time of Augustus Cæsar. A century is but a point in the age of a nation. The life of an individual often spans it; and many are the children now born who will see the year 1920, and the accomplishment of the great events which their nurses believe to be impossible."

The great Webster said in a speech in the Senate on the compromise measures, January 25, 1850: "Sir, nobody can look over the face of this country at the present moment, nobody can see where its population is the most dense and growing, without being made to admit, and compelled to admit, that ere long the strength of America will be in the Valley of the Mississippi."

De Tocqueville wrote in his "Democracy in America" that "The Valley of the Mississippi is, upon the whole, the most magnificent dwelling-place prepared by God for man's abode," and that "the relative position of the central Federal power is continually displaced," and "if the Union goes on to subsist, the basin of the Mississippi is evidently marked out by its fertility and its extent as the future center of the Federal Government."

Said the Hon. Horace Greeley, in speaking of the West: "Let her not be despised! American Orientals may dream that wisdom has taken up her perpetual abode on the shores of the Atlantic, and that the genii of Art, of Science, of Literature, have planted their rosy grottoes on the sunny side of the Alleghanies; but a thousand fancies never made one fact. Like the swaddled Hercules, the West has already put out her infant arms and strangled two political dragons that were coiling about her cradle; and as soon as she walks forth in the consciousness of matured strength, she will make a greater fluttering among the harpies that prey upon her interests than did the club of the hero among the Stymphalian vultures. Ill-founded contempt is a blow that always rebounds. The Assyrian contemned the Persians, while the Persians, like musk-rats, were undermining the walls of Babylon. Haughty, learned, philosophic Greece, the conqueror of Xerxes, became a Turkish slave, and the fair daughters of Themistocles and Leonidas were bought and sold in the shambles of Smyrna. Rome despised the barbarians, and the barbarians conquered Rome. Cæsar overran Gaul with victorious legions, and now Gaul holds a standing army in the city of the Cæsars. England would force America to drink Bohea, and America poured out for England a cup of gunpowder tea, the taste of which she has not yet got out of her mouth. Thus it is, Arms and Arts, in their onward progress, have always pitched their tents near the setting sun, and the conquests of the one and the triumphs of the other have left fruits to ripen and decay on the track. The very relics of the ancient empires are now to be dug out of the soil. Civilization, like the ostrich in its flight, throws sand upon everything behind her; and before many cycles shall have completed their rounds, sentimental pilgrims from the humming cities of the Pacific coast will be seen where Boston, Philadelphia and New York now stand, viewing in moonlight contemplation, with the melancholy owl, traces of the Athens, the Carthage, and the Babel of the Western Hemisphere."

At a later date, said the Hon. Charles Sumner: "The Mississippi Valley speaks for itself as man cannot speak. Give us peace, and population will increase beyond all experience; resources of all kinds will multiply indefinitely; arts will embellish the land with immortal beauty; the name of Republic will be exalted until every neighbor, yielding to irresistible attraction,

will seek a new life in becoming a part of the great whole, and the national example will be more puissant than army or navy for the conquest of the world."

Said John Bright, the great English statesman, in speaking of the American Republic, its future greatness and grandeur: "I see one vast confederation, stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic, westward, to the calmer waters of the Pacific; and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that vast continent the home of freedom and refuge for the oppressed of every race and every clime."

The great field of the West—"As the center of population and power is to be in the Mississippi Valley in the future, so must we look thither for the New Man who is to be the redeemer of our race and character. The Western man already shows larger, broader, and healthier development, spiritually speaking, than his brother in the East. He has never been cramped as yet by any of the restraining forms of social ecclesiasticism; his mind, like his eye, ranges over large extents, and is not content to sit down with itself after having acquired a little power over its fellows. As the Great West is bound to supply laws and men for the vast future of this continental country, so will it furnish the religion, whose all-embracing forms are to invite the entire people into the simple secrets of its worship."

The Men of the West—"One who has not visited the West knows but little or nothing of the spirit of the Western men. There is an all-pervading zeal, energy, ambition, push-go-ahead, seen nowhere else. The blood of the Western man courses more rapidly in his veins than in the Eastern man or in the European; and he thinks, talks, and acts on a larger scale. The Western farmer wastes more in a year than the Eastern farmer saves. He may lack refinement, but he has a generous heart for his friends and a deal of pluck for his enemies. His religion is less sectarian, less bigoted, and more broad, catholic, and truly Christian."

Having submitted only a fragment of the strong but direct prophetic testimony in favor of the future empire of the great West, and the consequent demand for the seat of government I now desire to call attention to some testimony bearing immediately upon the question of removal.

Since the days of Jefferson, far-seeing men have from time to time declared that the Capital of the Nation would some day be removed from the Potomac to the Mississippi. At a dinner given to Mr. Jefferson, in Frederickstown, Md., in honor of the Louisiana purchase, a gentleman, whose name, I regret, is lost, while voluntarily defending Mr. Jefferson against the silly slurs made about his purchase, said to the guests, as he unrolled the plat of a tract of land twenty-five miles square, including the site of Alton, Illinois: "You need not laugh at Mr. Jefferson, for some day," pointing at his map, "the Capital of the United States will be located upon this land." The laugh for the moment was turned upon the stranger, and the inquiry made, how could people ever get there? The stranger answered, "I don't know, but I think they will go there by steam." This occurred about 1804, long before railroads were constructed, even in the very infancy of the Republic. All along the line of our historic march have men declared the coming transfer of power from the Atlantic seaboard to the States west of the Alleghanies. In our own time thousands of the wisest men have declared the removal of the Capital to be inevitable.

Said the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, in a political speech at St. Paul in 1860: "The power of the Republic is being gathered in the Mississippi Valley, and with that power will come the Capital of the country."

Said the Hon. Charles Sumner: "I have no love for Washington, and the removal of the Capital is only a question of time."

Said Dr. Draper, in speaking of the Capital at Washington: "It has ceased to be the appropriate site for the metropolis of the continental Republic. Western influence predominating will draw the Capital into the Mississippi Valley, in absolute security from all foreign attack, and territorially central."

Said the Hon. Richard Yates: "Now, sir, when I see this country, when I see its vastness and its almost illimitable extent; when I see the keen eye of capital and business fastned with steady, interested gaze upon the trade of the West, and all our Eastern cities in hot rivalry are reaching out their iron arms to secure our trade; when I see the railroads that are centering here in St. Louis; when I see this city, with 60,000 miles of railroad communication and 100,000 miles of telegraphic communication; when I see that she stands at the headwaters

of navigation, extending to the north 8,000 miles, and to the south 2,000 miles; and when I see that she stands in the center of the continent, as it were; when I see the population moving to the West in vast numbers; when I see emigration rolling towards the Pacific, and all through these temperate climes I hear the tramp of the iron horse on his way to the Pacific Ocean; when I see towns and villages springing up in every direction; when I see States forming into existence, until the city of St. Louis becomes the center as it were of a hundred States, the center of the population and the commerce of this country—when I see all this, sir, I feel convinced that the seat of empire is to come this side of the Alleghanies, and why may not St. Louis be the future Capital of the United States?"

Said the Hon. Horace Greeley: "Washington seems to me an unfortunate location for our national metropolis, and sure to be rendered less acceptable by the march of events. Our Capital should be a great city. I prefer our greatest city, supporting a perfectly independent press, whereby all the acts and leanings of the Government would be criticised with absolute freedom from deflection in the hope of Federal patronage or the fear of its withdrawal. It should be surounded by a dense, intelligent, spirited population, readily rallied in myriads to the defense of the national archives and treasures. It should be a focus of art, and literature, and refinement, thus inviting the presence and commanding the admiration of the choice spirits of the entire civilized world. I judge New York to be pre-eminently that city. I am quite sure that Washington is not. Let the subject be thoughtfully and generally canvassed, and I feel confident that a change will be approved and demanded."

Under this head I could quote the great majority of the ablest newspapers and public men of the country who are decided for the removal—men and newspapers that are not depending on a little Government patronage or Washington flattery for their bread and butter, and social and political standing—but I think the testimony sufficient, and hold that any man who has been observant at all upon the tendency of the people upon this question must know what the final decision will be. I therefore pass on to consider the unfitness of Washington

VIII. THE UNFITNESS OF WASHINGTON FOR THE CAPITAL OF THIS GREAT NATION.

It is assumed by the friends of Capital removal that the seat of Government at its present place is not adapted to the national life, nor to the wants of our continental people; that at every stage of the national growth Washington City is rendered less and less fit to be the Capital of this nation, and that, therefore, the Capital ought to be removed to some more central and convenient place in the wide domain of this continental commonwealth.

No reasonable person would think of confining the full-grown man to the cradle of his infancy, but would urge him forth to the chamber and drawing-room suited to his manhood. So, too, of this Republic. The Capital that was once central to the nation, central to the States of the Atlantic Slope, and adapted to the wants of an infant people, has, in the multiplication of States to an imperial Republic, left the Capital of its infancy on its outskirts, like a barren rock upon a desert shore. The Republic has grown to the West in magnitude and mightiness, until it now embraces the shores of an ocean greater than that upon which it was born; and in every conceivable view we can take of the subject, Washington appears unfit to remain the Capital of this great nation. In fact, all arguments turn upon the unfitness of Washington to be the Capital of the nation, and the fitness of some central place in the great valley to be the future home of the Government.

Let us look for one moment at this. Ask the statesman for the philosophy of the integrity of government. He will tell you that it must be representative in all its relations to civilization and the great wants of man. Ask the moral philosopher for the philosophy of the integrity of civilization. He will tell you it, too, must be representative in its relations to government and the great interests of man. Now, in the name of heaven, is Washington City in any conceivable way representative of any of the interests of this great nation and people? Not at all. It is the cradle, the home of the infant Republic, which was found in the bulrushes, but now is deliverer and benefactor; Washington possesses no representative element either in character or in locality—no commerce, no industry, no material power, no prestige, no nothing in common with the great representative,

political, material, industrial, and progressive interests of this nation. Of the 54,000 miles of railroads in the country, stretching from ocean to ocean, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, she has only one. Her commerce is not equal to that of the meanest port on the coast of Africa. There is not published in the city—in the Capital of the great Republic—a newspaper entitled to any consideration. They are all toadying and distempered papers.

When these things are so, is it not possible for the representatives of the people to rise to the dignity of their position, high up in the sphere of clear conception, and behold Washington as Jesus beheld Jerusalem, the city that killed the prophets and stoned them that were sent unto it? "Oh, venal city! if a purchaser could be found thou art gone." But why are these things so? I answer, it is in the very nature of things, it is in the philosophy of the integrity of a representative government, that its Capital must, in order to subserve its highest purpose, be inseparably identified with the great representative interests of the nation, the symbol of whose power it is. Civilization and government must act in reciprocal relations. Washington has become totally unfit for the Capital of this vast Continental Republic, because it embodies no representative interests common to the people of this great nation. While the Capital is at its present place, the Government, as represented by the lawmakers, the administrators of the law, and the officiating officers, has none of the strength of the nation, none of its great vitalizing power, and the public interests of the great people to lean upon, to draw vitality from. In the mighty growth of the Republic the nation is essentially left, at Washington, like a lone child forsaken on a desert rock. It grows weak and forgets the great world around it; it yields to temptations and becomes demoralized.

I speak "the words of truth and soberness" when I say that the Capital *must* be removed from Washington, as a necessity to the HIGHER LIFE of the Republic. There is still another reason for removing it, which no power in the world can ignore. I refer to a demand which the rising millions of the great valley will soon make for the Capital. A giant empire is now growing up in the West, soon to be more powerful in peace than the mightiest nation known to history, and from it a voice will go forth of commanding power. It will speak in majorities, and

its *will* must be obeyed. It will be as a great *giant* ruling a continent. Its veins will be coursed by blood from every land. Its arms of power will extend—one to the Atlantic, the other to the Pacific—giving parental protection to the children of the nation upon the shores of the Eastern and Western Oceans. Those in power must prepare to hear the voice of this growing empire of the West, and to obey its will when it speaks in majorities.

IX. OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Thus far in the discussion by the people at large, but two objections that have the least possible weight have been urged against removal.

1. The expense consequent on the change. This objection is trifling in the extreme, and certainly would not be urged by a sensible man when familiar with the facts.

The Government owns, in the District of Columbia, 578 acres, divided into lots, parks, etc. This land was valued in 1868 at $13,412,293.26. The improvements on the land, including all the Government expenditures in the whole District for eighty years, amounted, June 30, 1868, to only $37,390,853.08. Now, the man's soul is small and sordid, indeed, who, in the face of these facts, will contend for one moment that the expense consequent upon the removal is an obstacle. I will venture to say that, if the opportunity was afforded, Missouri, and, I think, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, or Kentucky, would incur a debt of $50,000,000 if necessary to secure the Capital upon the respective soil of either; but the work is too great for this mighty nation to dicker about. It is beneath the dignity of the Republic to consider any proposition beyond the simple cession by a State of a new District wherein to place the seat of government.

2. Another silly objection urged by some is that the time has not come for the removal. The present Capital fails to subserve the present wants of the Government, and is destined to be rendered "less and less acceptable by the march of events," and its removal to some more central and appropriate place cannot in the least adversely affect the general good of the country, and therefore the time has come for the removal. I dismiss this objection as one of no weight whatever.

There still remains to be considered in connection with the National Capital a conviction, with many, so absurd that it deserves only to be noticed that it may be rendered contemptible. I refer to the conviction that the presence of the Capital at any place tends to demoralize the people and exercise an injurious influence upon the public interests where it may be. I am aware that Washington City has given a bad experience, but I have shown why. I have shown that it was not the distinctive presence of the Capital that has given the bad experience to Washington, but the unfortunate relation of the representative power of the nation with the non-representative interests and civilization of the people. The mechanic, the merchant, the banker, the landlord, the laborer, and all are dependent upon Government patronage for subsistence; and no dependent people can live above demoralization. They will as surely generate vice and inefficiency as stagnant water generates malarious scum. The people of Washington City are chained to dependency; and the nation suffers by resting its arms on weakness. The degradation of the people also carries with it the degradation of the National Legislature. Congress is nothing but a national committee on streets and alleys for Washington City—an official capacity degrading to the official body it is. The removal of the Capital would benefit Washington and exalt the nation. It would place the people of the District of Columbia upon their own resources, and develop their smothered energies. It would give to the nation a new manifestation of life, consummate our national transition, and herald the inauguration of the NEW REPUBLIC.

The new Capital must be adjacent to one of our great metropolitan cities, where the people of the city will be as independent in their industry and interests as the Government itself. Then the relationship of the two independents will serve a common and benign influence for the welfare of both. The strong and representative elements and interests of civilization will unite, at the home of the Government, with the legislative and representative interests of the people for the common benefit of the entire nation. Then will experience reverse this conviction.

"The Capital of this nation, if favorably located, is destined to be a great city. It must be the center of attraction of the active, earnest, progressive, thinking and working men of the nation; it must be the focus of the great ideas and pro-

jects which are to stimulate and advance the successive generations that dwell on this continent. It must be the residence of thousands and tens of thousands of the great, and wise, and good, who will, as time progresses, make illustrious our history. It must ultimately be the great city of the civilized world. Our population will rise as easily to a hundred millions, and from that to two hundred millions, as it has from three to thirty-eight millions. When a hundred millions dwell under the protection of our power, who can now measure the grandeur of their Capital city? Who can now, with good reason, say that the structures we have already erected are a tithe of what will then be needed, and that for the comparatively small expenditure that has been made, the seat of government shall be retained in an unfavorable location?"

Those who persist in arguing that the presence of the Capital will exercise an injurious influence upon any city where it may be located, should, to be logical with their argument, advocate the abolishment of the National Capital and a dissolution of the Government. Such should be the case if the Capital is a great national Pandora box. But, before it is established as a fact that the Capital of this country (for I think the people of no other nation argue it) will demoralize any locality where it may be placed, the people ought to test the validity of the charge with four years of experience with a President, a Cabinet, and a Congress, composed of men of a high type of intellectual statesmen, of pure morality, and an exemplary life-practice. There is much in habit, much in the character of men, that affects society for good or evil. And, Oh, what a god-send to this nation it would be, if it could only be ruled and its laws made by the best and highest type of men! How benign and elevating the influence of such men would be! "In that great argument which gave us the two most consummate orations of antiquity, the question was, whether Athens should grant Demosthenes a crown. He had fled from battle, and his counsels, though heroic, brought the city to ruin. His speech is the masterpiece of all eloquence. Of the accusation by Æschines, it is praise enough to say that it stands only second to that. In it Æschines warns the Athenians that in granting crowns they judged themselves, and were forming the character of their children." Hear his eloquent words: "Most of all, fellow-citizens, if your sons ask whose example they shall imitate, what will you say? For you know well it is not music, nor the gymnasium, nor the

schools that mold young men, it is much more the public proclamations, the public example. If you take one whose life has no high purpose, everybody who sees it is corrupted. Beware, therefore, Athenians, remembering posterity will rejudge your judgment, and that the character of a city is determined by the character of the men it crowns." The people of this nation ought to heed the lesson of Æschines and teach it in the Capital of their country.

X. IMMEDIATE REMOVAL DEMANDED.

Having passed over the field of discussion and presented an array of facts and arguments that are positively incontestable by any man, and can only be ignored by a stolid stupidity at variance with the genius of our national progress and continental greatness, I now insist that the immediate removal of the National Capital is demanded. These facts, as well as the enlightened judgment of the American people, decide that Washington is unfit to be the national metropolis of our Government; and the universal conviction that the removal of the Capital is only a question of time, coupled with the fact that its present removal would not in any possible way adversely affect the general interest of the Government, but rather give it new life, argues incontrovertibly the wisdom of taking immediate steps for the removal to the grand Valley of the Mississippi.

Every day of delay in taking positive initiatory steps for the removal, so much the more stints the Republic, retards the great mission of our people in their peaceful conquest of the continent, and the complete organization of the Government into an imperial Republic of States. The mission of our people is sublime. Our future progress must be wonderful beyond competition. Let us realize it. Let us celebrate our hundredth anniversary with a new Capital, and the inauguration of the New Republic, whose all embracing rule shall be the new liberty which this nation has given to mankind. Let us go forward in our continental mission, carrying out the designs of Columbus and Humboldt, apostolic citizens of our destiny. Let us rise above everything sectional, personal, or local, and move forward in our national purpose to the peaceful conquest of the continent. Let us bind it with iron bands from ocean to ocean, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. Let us traverse it by steam to every part of its wide domain, and hasten the time

when in every quarter it will be jeweled with flourishing towns and cities, and the land everywhere be made to bloom by the industry of our people.

Already the nation is in a great transition, and this movement is but another step in its unfolding. Its very life is epical and unencumbered. The mighty tide of progress in our own day cannot be resisted. Before its onward movement, men and things in its opposition must go down, for it will be as impossible to resist this mighty force of industrial and intellectual energy as to resist time itself; and it will be as impossible for the people of the Atlantic Slope to withhold the National Capital from the West as it would be for the present people of the city of the Cæsars to go out and conquer those of the once mighty empire of Charlemagne. And as Constantine was called, by the sight of the cross, to a mission that gave him the inexorable power to transmit the capital of empire from the city of the Cæsars to the east, so, too, will our people, by following the star of empire, gather to themselves power to transmit the Capital of the Republic to the West.

Already a new spirit of progress attracts the understanding, and we hail it with delight from every quarter of the country. It admonishes us to see to it that the nation moves with the progress of the people.

Let us raise ourselves up; let us rise to the grandeur of the conception of one vast continental Republic, yielding to one beneficent law, and which shall be adorned with its crowning honor—a continental Capital worthy the nation, the symbol of whose power it is—great in its character of the nation whose design it accomplishes—fixed in the center of the States—overlooking the nation—the nation itself the sovereign of its power, and the Capital a part of the nation—with peerless dome reaching the heavens, and around whose earthly splendor ages will revolve in obedience to eternity's command, and in unison with the revolutions of magisterial States, around one central moving heart.

APPENDIX.

STATEMENT

Of all expenditures from the National Treasury for public and private purposes, in the District of Columbia (excluding the salaries of public officers), from the time the seat of Government was located at Washington to the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *September 28, 1868.*

SIR: In reply to your inquiries, I have to say that the total amount expended in the District of Columbia from the time the seat of government was located there to June 30, 1868, for public works of every description, including buildings and works of art, is $37,890,853.08.

The real estate, exclusive of buildings, was assessed at $18,412,293.26 in 1868. Since that time there has been no assessment of which the Department is advised.

Very respectfully,

HUGH McCULLOCH,

Secretary of the Treasury.

L. U. REAVIS, ESQ., *

St. Louis, Mo.

Public buildings in Washington	$1,515,966 32
Erecting the Capitol, including alterations and repairs	1,314,781 52
Repairs of the Capitol, etc	8,000 00
Alteration and repairs of the Capitol	93,241 26
Repairs at the Capitol water-closets, public stables, etc	11,000 00
Inclosing and improving Capitol square	221,220 86
Statues and busts for the Capitol	105,833 95
Furniture for the Capitol	80,043 20
Foundation for colossal statue of Washington in rotunda of the Capitol	1,990 74
Erecting statue of Washington in rotunda of the Capitol	5,000 00
Lighting with gas the Capitol and Capitol grounds	11,050 59
Extra work done in making necessary fixtures for lighting the Capitol with gas	2,877 18

* Since receiving the statement of expenditures by the General Government in the District of Columbia, Congress has made additional appropriations for purposes in the District; and for a statement of the additional expenditures, as well as some other valuable facts, I am indebted to Hon. John Coburn, M. C.

Purchase and erection of lamps and lamp-posts of iron, and for laying gas-pipes, etc., in the Capitol grounds	$ 4,951 71
Removing mast and lantern above the dome of the Capitol	323 00
Paying Washington Gas Company for lighting the Capitol and grounds, including fixtures	2,000 00
Lighting the Capitol and the President's House, the public grounds around them, etc.	121,305 00
Repairs and removal of gas-pipes through the Capitol	3,500 00
Painting the Capitol	18,064 90
Painting and repairs inside of the Capitol, etc	5,000 00
Painting and repairs inside of the Capitol, new furnace under the Senate chamber, etc.	500 00
Paintings for the rotunda of the Capitol	70,542 00
Four historical paintings for rotunda of the Capitol	10,000 00
Supplying the President's House, executive buildings and Capitol with water	82,605 30
Repairs of water-pipes at the Capitol	1,000 00
Improving public grounds north, south and west of the Capitol	2,500 00
Purchase of two thousand feet of six-inch iron water-pipe to conduct water to the Capitol, etc.	2,500 00
Extension of the Capitol according to such plan as may be approved by the President of the United States	690,000 00
Extension of the United States Capitol	3,635,000 00
Expenses incurred in the extinguishment of the fire in the library room at the Capitol	5,000 00
Repairs of the Congressional Library room, destroyed by fire	96,500 00
For fitting up document room to receive temporarily a portion of the books of the Congressional Library	1,138 43
Taking up and repairing the steps of the eastern portico of the Capitol, etc.	1,500 00
Permanent repairs of the roof the Capitol with copper	2,000 00
Removing fences, grading streets, etc., preparatory to the extension of the Capitol square	3,000 00
Removing the dome of the Capitol	105,000 00
Dome of the Capitol of the United States	130,000 00
Furnishing and ornamenting the Capitol with works of art, etc.	1,750 00
For furnishing and putting up new furnaces and repairing old ones, etc., for the House of Representatives	4,500 00
Building to accommodate Congress, including rent	19,355 00
Completing room under post-office of the Senate	4,451 31
For flagging footway in the Congressional Burying Ground from the entrance of the same to the government vault	2,200 00
To enable the Commissioner of Public Buildings to provide additional furnaces for the Library of Congress	2,500 00
President's House, additions, alterations, and repairs	158,675 84
Alteration and repairs of the President's House, etc.	73,931 25
Accommodations of the President's household furniture, etc.	923,805 27
Furnishing the President's House, etc.	43,897 34
Grading, draining, etc. the grounds south of the President's House	50,770 00
Grading and improving the President's square	59,584 00
Filling the low grounds south of the President's House	474 54
For extending sewers from the executive departments and the President's House to the canal, etc.	32,000 00
Cast-iron fence from the corner of the Department of State to the President's gate	3,931 27
Raising chimneys of the southeast executive building, and repairing the steps of the western portico, etc.	3,000 00
Painting exterior of the President's House below the cornice	1,050 00
Heating and ventilating the Executive Mansion, etc.	32,525 29
Repairing or removing water fixtures at the President's House	2,000 00
Footway on the north front of the President's House, etc.	4,809 28
Erection of stables and conservatory at the President's House	20,000 00

Extending the gas-pipes and providing lamp-posts, lamps, and burners in front of the Executive Mansion	$ 5,389 19
For expenses incurred in bringing gas-pipes, etc., into and around the northeast executive building	398 59
Two additional executive offices	191,756 71
Smithsonian Institution	648,684 96
Expenses of the Smithsonian Institution	278,191 26
Expenses of the Smithsonian Institution, per act Aug. 10, 1848,	257,584 07
Smithsonian Institution, founded at Washington for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men	70,265 89
Jail in the city of Washington	54,838 66
Jail in the county of Alexandria, District of Columbia	11,699 16
To defray expenses incurred in preparing plans and estimate costs of a new jail for the District of Columbia, etc	500 00
Building penitentiary, District of Columbia	77,777 97
Support and maintenance of the penitentiary in the District of Columbia	316,679 87
Insane hospital in the District of Columbia	10,000 00
To enable the Secretary of the Interior, under the direction of the President of the United States, to purchase a site in the neighborhood of Washington for erecting an asylum for insane	239,321 00
Erection of a barn and carpenter's shop at the Insane Asylum, District of Columbia	7,200 00
For inclosing the grounds of the Insane Asylum, District of Columbia	3,000 00
To aid the directors of the Washington Infirmary to enlarge their accommodations for the benefit of sick transient paupers	20,000 00
Support of insane persons in the District of Columbia, including liquidation and settlement of debts due Maryland for support of insane paupers	30,296 24
Support, clothing, etc., of insane paupers, District of Columbia,	13,828 36
Payment on account of principal and interest of loan made by State of Maryland to the city of Washington	290,874 84
Support and maintenance of insane paupers in the District of Columbia and Baltimore	7,169 75
Support of insane paupers in the District of Columbia (pauper lunatics of Baltimore)	40,029 89
Support, attention, and medical treatment of twelve transient paupers, medical or surgical, in the Washington Infirmary	14,250 00
Support of eighteen transient paupers, etc., in the District of Columbia	$9,750 00
Maintenance and tuition of deaf, dumb or blind pupils for the District of Columbia in the Columbia Institute	1,600 75
Support, clothing and medical treatment of the insane of the District of Columbia	20,500 00
Support of the Military Asylum for the relief and support of disabled soldiers of the United States	118,791 19
Support, clothing and medical treatment of the insane of the District of Columbia and of the Army and Navy	20,500 00
Erection of a lodge for colored insane, fences, repairs of farm-house, ten cows for use of asylum, etc	12,020 00
Purchase of the rights of the Washington Bridge Company, and for the erection of a public bridge on the site thereof	47,000 00
Erecting a bridge across the Potomac river at Washington	134,683 25
Loss incurred in making preparations to build a bridge across the Potomac river at Washington	13,854 70
Repairs of the Potomac bridge, District of Columbia	71,104 83
To reimburse the expenditure made by the Commissioner of Public Buildings for the repairs of the Potomac bridge	4,500 00
For a bridge across the Potomac river at Little Falls	122,587 03
Purchase of one or both of the bridges over the Eastern Branch.	80,000 00
Repairs of the bridges on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac river, etc	21,999 00

Improving the navigation of the Potomac river between Alexandria and Georgetown, and for other purposes	$150 000 00
Repairing the roof of the court-house at Alexandria	18,550 00
Loan made to the city of Washington	100,000 00
For the benefit of the city of Washington	70,000 00
Relief of the several corporated cities of the District of Columbia	1,155,058 29
Reimbursement of the debt contracted by the cities of the District of Columbia, assumed by the United States	780,000 00
Improvements in the city of Washington, under the twelfth section of act of Congress approved May 17, 1848	23,268 62
To complete the grades in the city of Washington, under direction of the President of the United States	13,250 09
To enable the Secretary of the Interior to purchase a suitable number of iron settees, to be placed in the public grounds,	1,840 00
To enable the Secretary of the Interior to purchase five hundred burial lots in the Congressional Burying Ground	5,000 00
Expenditure on account of the public burying ground	9,359 89
To enable the Secretary of the Interior to pay for 225 feet 5 inches of granite coping used in the improvement of the triangular square, etc	515 47
For erecting suitable buildings in Washington City for the preservation of the ordnance and arms of the volunteers and militia of the District of Columbia	27,374 96
To reimburse the corporation of Washington the amount advanced to complete culvert, etc	2,309 90
To reimburse the corporation of Washington the cost of erecting half of the City Hall Building	30,000 00
Apartments in the City Hall for the Circuit Court of the United States	11,115 00
Alterations and improvements in the court room in the City Hall at Washington, District of Columbia	2,500 00
Inclosing with a substantial wooden fence, etc., the low grounds on the canal between Third and Sixth streets	2,500 00
Purchase of the rights of the Washington Canal Company	150,000 00
Completing the Alexandria Canal, District of Columbia	300,000 00
Aqueduct across the Potomac river at or near Georgetown, District of Columbia	100,000 00
Continuation of the Washington aqueduct	1,285,036 99
Completing, cleaning and repairing that portion of the Washington City Canal which passes through and along the public grounds	40,000 00
Navy yard at Washington City, District of Columbia	1,655,977 73
Timber sheds at Washington	9,360 14
Removing and rebuilding monument in navy yard, Washington	2,300 00
Payment for property destroyed by burning the navy yard at Washington in 1814	225 00
Repairs of the Potomac, Navy Yard and Upper bridges, and to refund to the Commissioner of Public Buildings $3,000 advanced to him by the city of Washington, District of Columbia	26,000 00
Hospital at Washington, District of Columbia	417 00
Magazine at Washington, District of Columbia	12,513 53
Bringing water into the city of Washington	180,000 00
Repair of water-pipes	200 00
Purchase and repairs of tools for laborers	1,755 45
To enable the President of the United States to employ Clark Mills to erect at the city of Washington a colossal equestrian statue of George Washington, etc	25,000 00
To enable the President of the United States to compensate Clark Mills for the execution of the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson	20,000 00
For erecting a pedestal in Lafayette Square for the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, and inclosing the same	8,500 03

Post Office and Patent Office, including purchase of old building lots, etc	$ 82,500 80
Erecting a fire-proof building for the General Post Office	477,052 71
Purchase of the remainder of the square on which the General Post Office buildings are situated	22,150 00
Purchase of ground north of the General Post Office building	9,877 98
Repairs of the General Post Office building, office furniture, painting, etc	5,083 00
Painting the interior of the General Post Office building, including passages, etc	5,000 00
Continuation of the General Post Office building	800,000 00
Erecting a fire-proof building for the Treasury Department	667,974 00
Furnishing rooms in the Treasury Department	16,600 00
Painting walls of the Treasury Department and Patent Office	5,000 00
Lighting and ventilating the upper story of the Treasury building	15,000 00
Continuation of the Treasury building	994,403 47
Erecting a fire-proof building for the Patent Office	417,550 00
For casual repairs of the Patent Office building	5,200 84
Contingent expenses of the east wing of the Patent Office, etc	100 00
For completing the east wing of the Patent Office building	897,892 40
Erection of the east wing of the Patent Office building and completing the drains of said building, etc	649,107 98
Erection of the west wing of the Patent Office building and completing the drains of said building and Post Office building	49,000 00
Altering the streets and repairing in front of the east wing of the Patent Office, etc	14,250 00
Furnishing the front of the basement of the center building of the Patent Office, etc	8,200 00
Flooring the basement rooms in the old portion of the Patent Office building, etc	2,000 00
Iron railing and flagging in front of the old portion of the Patent Office building, etc	5,730 00
Repairing old portion of the Patent Office building, constructing water closets therein, etc	8,000 00
Repairing old portion of the Patent Office building	1,000 00
Repairing heating apparatus, raising, repairing passages, painting, reglazing, and extending seed-room and green-house	6,000 00
Erection of the north front of the Patent Office building	210,000 00
Furnishing rooms of the new wing of the Patent Office building and providing the saloon with cases for models	500 00
For the construction and erection of suitable cases to receive the collections of the United States Exploring Expedition and others in geology, etc	15,000 00
For the expense of the transfer of collections of the United States Exploring Expedition, and the permanent arrangement of the cases	2,000 00
Repairing the saloon of the west wing of the Patent Office for the reception of models, etc	20,000 00
Monument over the tomb of Elbridge Gerry, late Vice-President of the United States	1,000 00
Repairs or additions of offices, rooms, vaults, and safes, purchase of additional furniture, fixtures, etc	5,000 00
Fire-engines, hose, and engine-houses for the public buildings	84,478 33
Rebuilding engine-house of the Columbia Fire Company on Capitol Hill	2,500 00
Purchase of fire-engines	600 00
For removing the old engine-house of the Franklin Company from the triangular space on Pennsylvania avenue	11,000 00
Improvement of public squares, other than the Capitol and President's, and the streets adjoining	84,561 97
Grading done by order of Ignatius Mudd, late Commissioner of Public Buildings, etc	484 89
Miscellaneous expenditures relating to public buildings, grounds, etc	179,574 99

Improving Pennsylvania avenue	$209,493 99
Paving and repairing Pennsylvania avenue	45,915 29
Repairs of Pennsylvania avenue	7,000 00
Lighting Pennsylvania avenue from Capitol Square to the Treasury Department, etc	47,516 25
Sprinkling Pennsylvania avenue during the session of Congress	1,061 87
For continuing of improvements of Pennsylvania avenue around the Capitol grounds, etc	17,500 00
For repairing Pennsylvania avenue at the intersection of Seventh street	5,000 00
Paving remainder of center space of Pennsylvania avenue	5,255 86
Grading and paving with round stones the carriage-way of Pennsylvania avenue from Seventeenth street to Rock Creek, etc.	43,700 00
Continuing sewer under Pennsylvania avenue, east line of Fourteenth street	3,000 00
Enlarging the culverts and openings into the same across Pennsylvania avenue, etc	3,928 36
Placing sewer openings along Pennsylvania avenue	8,000 00
For defraying the expenses incurred in the improvement, etc., of the triangular space north side of Pennsylvania avenue, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets	5,192 00
Inclosing with iron fence and otherwise improving the triangular space north side of Pennsylvania avenue, opposite the market-house, between Seventh and Eighth streets	4,500 00
Inclosing with iron fence and otherwise improving the triangular space north side of Pennsylvania avenue	3,860 00
Erecting lamp-posts and lamps on both sides of Pennsylvania avenue	4,900 00
Furnishing lamps and lamp-posts from Sixteenth to Seventeenth streets on Pennsylvania avenue	500 00
Erecting cast-iron lamp-posts and lighting the same with gas from the western termination of Pennsylvania avenue	4,000 00
Grading University Square	22,543 77
For the purchase of a building corner of F and Seventeenth streets	200,000 00
Inclosing circle at intersection of Pennsylvania avenue with New Hampshire avenue	4,500 00
Inclosing triangular space upon which the western market-house recently stood with iron fence	5,000 00
For improving that part of reservation 17 lying between New Jersey avenue and Second street	2,500 00
For grading, graveling, etc., New Jersey avenue, north of the Capitol	22,000 00
For improving New Jersey avenue, south of the Capitol	4,000 00
Grading, graveling, repairing sidewalks, building culverts, etc., on New Jersey avenue, from the Capitol to the public reservation No. 5, etc	2,000 00
Completing the grading and graveling of New Jersey avenue	7,000 00
Grading and graveling Indiana avenue from Third street to Capitol Hill, and constructing culvert	11,284 77
Grading Indiana avenue, etc	11,833 92
Grading and graveling Indiana avenue, from Third street to Capitol Hill	881 31
Grading, graveling, and completing the culvert across Tiber Creek, on Indiana avenue	6,000 00
Grading, graveling, etc., Four-and-a-half street, etc	4,750 00
Grading Four-and-a-half street south	1,199 20
For completing the graveling on Four-and-a-Half street, from Maryland avenue to the arsenal grounds	80
For taking up and relaying, etc., as much as has been washed away at the sewer along Fifteenth street, etc	2,999 98
Paving remainder of center space of Fifteenth street	12,700 00
Paving Fifteenth street west	172 96
Sewer under Fifteenth street	2,160 72

Grading and improving Maryland avenue, from Seventh street to the Potomac bridge	$ 12,420 72
Grading and paving with round stones Seventeenth street, from Pennsylvania avenue to the north side of New York avenue, etc.	5,500 00
Grading and paving with round stones Twelfth and Fourteenth streets, from canal to south B street	9,000 00
Construction of a sewer in Judiciary Square	6,000 00
For filling up ravine in Judiciary Square	3,000 00
Continuing improvements of Judiciary Square, repairing fences, etc.	6,000 00
Improving the grounds in Lafayette Square, and fencing the same	5,000 00
For finishing brick pavement on the south front of Lafayette Square	1,000 00
Inclosing Lafayette Square with iron fence, including four gates.	20,303 99
Defraying the expenses incurred in the improvement of Lafayette Square	5,266 00
For public reservation No. 2, Lafayette Square	12,000 00
Purchase of one dozen settees for Lafayette Square	175 00
For furnishing lamp-posts and lamps on the north, east, and west sides of Lafayette Square, etc.	1,350 00
Filling up, grading, and otherwise improving Franklin Square	5,906 99
Grading, inclosing, etc., public Mall, from Seventh street to the Potomac River	8,628 00
Completing the grading, etc., of the Mall from Sixth street to the Potomac River	4,954 29
Completing the grading and planting with trees, and inclosing the public Mall from Third street to the Potomac River	13,000 00
Completing the grading, planting with trees, and inclosing with a wooden fence, the Mall from Sixth street westward	763 50
For purchase of trees and hire of laborers in the improvement of reservation No. 2 on public Mall	5,276 52
Continuing the grading and planting with trees the unimproved portions of the Mall	27,500 00
Planting and finishing the roads and walks through that portion of the public Mall surrounding the Smithsonian Institution	7,500 00
Laying of gas-pipes from Fifteenth street to President's House, and branch pipe through the house, etc.	5,000 00
Laying gas-pipes from Main pipe at Capitol to Fifteenth street on both sides of Pennsylvania avenue, etc.	10,000 00
Laying gas-pipe between Capitol and Fifteenth street, etc.	3,000 00
Inclosing and preparing public grounds for nursery	750 00
For extending the propagating department of the Botanic Garden, and introducing water into the same, etc.	2,609 00
Expenses of taking care of and preserving botanical and horticultural specimens brought home by exploring expedition	3,400 00
Removal of green-house and botanical collection thereat, to some suitable site, etc., etc.	5,000 00
Filling up and draining grounds in the vicinity of the national green-house	18,650 00
Removing fences, grading streets, etc.	12,000 00
Purchase of tree-boxes, leather, wire, and twine for the public buildings	250 00
Purchase of trees for the Mall and other public grounds	1,000 00
Purchase of tree-boxes to replace, when necessary, such as have been planted by the United States, etc.	22,680 72
Hire of carts for the public buildings and grounds	7,000 00
Manure for the public grounds	6,600 00
	$24,721,301 67
From which deduct excess of repayments beyond expenditures and repayments where there are no expenditures, etc., on account of completing the grading, planting with trees, and inclosing with	

wooden fence the Mall, from Sixth street westward to Potomac River	$ 717 79	
Grading and improving Maryland avenue from Seventeenth street to the Potomac bridge	8,420 72	
Furnishing the President's House	71 48	
Cast-iron fence, from corner of Department of State to the President's gate	412 58	
Inclosing circle at the termination of Pennsylvania avenue with New Hampshire avenue and R street, etc.	580 82	
Completing the east wing of the Patent Office building, etc., etc	546 12	
		5,749 51
Total		$24,715,552 16

F. BIGGER, *Register.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Register's Office, September 11, 1858.

No. 2. — Statement of all the expenditures from the National Treasury for public and private purposes in the District of Columbia (excluding the salaries of public officers), from June 30, 1858, to January 1, 1870.

Annual repairs of the Capitol, etc	$105,129 00
To contract with Hiram Powers, etc., to ornament the Capitol	20,018 00
Painting, etc., the Capitol; new furnaces under the Senate chamber	1,000 00
Coal, and firemen to warm the Library of Congress	9,282 00
To fit up, with shelves, the two rooms at the south end of library, etc	270 00
Stone flooring for Library of Congress	5,200 00
Repairs of water-pipes at the Capitol	6,298 99
Lighting the Capitol, President's House, etc	692,600 00
Dome of the Capitol of the United States	763,000 00
Extension of the Capital	3,408,613 74
Ornamenting the Capitol with works of art	11,250 00
Expenses, etc., for warming the Library of Congress	3,000 00
Converting the old Senate chamber into a court-room	25,000 00
Fitting up rooms in the center building, etc., for use of Court of Claims	3,000 00
Keeping three furnaces under the old hall, House of Representatives	1,000 00
Repairs of water-closets of the Capitol	10,100 00
Repairs of furnaces under the Senate chamber	998 70
To have the old furnace under the Library of Congress removed, etc	325 00
Painting the outside of the old portion of the Capitol	1,000 00
Removing the army bakery from the basement floor of the Capitol	8,000 00
Erecting two new furnaces under the rotunda of the Capitol	5,500 00
Repairs of all the furnaces under the Capitol	2,000 00
Continuation of the repairs of Delaware avenue, north of Capital,	1,000 00
Removing back the fence, etc., the Botanic Garden	1,200 00
New roof the Congressional Library	3,500 00
Reconstruction of five of the burnt-out furnaces, etc	4,858 38
Keeping the spring and water-pipes, etc., in repair, etc	1,000 00
To grade, etc., so as to relay the water-pipes leading from the Government spring, etc	8,140 00
Fuel for center building of the Capitol	7,500 00
Enlargement of the Library of Congress, so as to include in two wings, etc	193,153 28

For picture by W. H. Powell, illustrative of some naval incident,	$ 5,000 00
Replacing one of the iron panels in the ceiling of Library of Congress	824 77
Cleaning and painting the crypt and passages under the rotunda,	2,000 00
Enlarging bench in the Supreme Court room	1,214 00
Completing the tiling of the floor of the old hall House of Representatives	3,875 00
Fitting up rooms in the basement under the court-room of the Supreme Court	6,500 00
Reconstructing the lower water-closets of the Supreme Court room	1,500 00
Painting the iron railing around the Capitol grounds	1,500 00
Heating with steam the Supreme Court room, law library, etc.	14,997 20
Casing with stone, and erecting a wall in front of No. — basement, etc	4,300 00
To cause to be painted, etc., the escutcheons of the States of West Virginia and Nevada	130 00
Grading, etc., and improving the public grounds around the Capitol	47,000 00
Lighting the rotunda of the Capitol with gas, etc	3,000 00
Repairing the roof of the old portion of the Capitol	5,450 00
Illuminating the Capitol and Government portion of the City Hall,	250 00
Laying a new pipe from K street main to the Capitol, etc	13,000 00
Improvement and repair of seats and fountains in Capitol grounds,	1,000 00
Alterations and repairs of the President's House	95,250 00
Refurnishing the President's House	46,053 02
Fuel for the President's House	40,000 00
Erection of stables and conservatory for the President's House	3,905 00
Plants for the conservatory for the President's House	1,000 00
To complete the improvements on the square south of President's House	2,000 00
Series of portraits of the Presidents of the United States for President's House	3,200 00
Purchase of books for the library of the President's House	1,492 82
Taking care of the grounds south of the President's House	28,500 00
Introducing Potomac water into the President's House	4,420 00
Painting iron fence around Lafayette Square in front of the President's House	1,000 00
Rebuilding the President's stable	14,016 19
Repairs of the basement of the President's House	13,000 00
Repairs, refitting, etc., the President's summer residence	3,000 00
Making the road from the President's stable to the House	1,500 00
Underdraining the President's garden and Capitol grounds	1,500 00
Painting the President's House, inside and out	8,000 00
Removing the water-pipes, etc., to the President's House	5,500 00
Carrying the Potomac water into the office portion of the President's House	3,000 00
Deficiency, etc., for fuel for President's House and Capitol	14 000 00
Deficiency for repairing conservatory for President's House	28,000 00
Refurnishing President's House (act of December 19, 1865)	160,000 00
Renewing the heating apparatus at the President's House	16,000 00
Hawley's improved patented lightning conductor for President's House	500 00
Expenses of a survey of a park and site for a presidential mansion,	2,500 00
Purchase of a portrait of the late President Lincoln for the Executive Mansion	3,000 00
Completing the iron fencing of the President's grounds, etc	27,000 00
Purchase of flower-pots, etc., for use in the green-house, etc	2,100 00
Expenses of the Smithsonian Institute	70,921 68
Seats of wood in the Smithsonian grounds	100 00
Repairs and rebuilding fence around the Smithsonian grounds	6,940 00
Repairing fence around that portion of the wall, etc., Smithsonian Institution	1,500 00
Construction of a jail in the District of Columbia	30,856 88

Making the necessary repairs of a jail in Washington, District of Columbia	$ 389 97
Support of a penitentiary in the District of Columbia	56,888 30
Purchase of a site for the insane of the District, etc	149,584 00
Support, clothing, and medical treatment of the insane, etc	753,500 00
Continuation of the wall inclosing the grounds of the Insane Asylum	64,372 00
Extension of stables and erection of sheds, etc	4,000 00
Heating and ventilating, etc., Insane Hospital edifice	20,000 00
Furnishing the present hospital continuation for the insane	19,643 00
Fire apparatus for the Insane Hospital	900 00
Grading and planting trees about the Insane Hospital edifice	1,000 00
Books and incidental expenses of the Insane Hospital	500 00
Extension of workshops, etc., Insane Hospital	2,000 00
Furnishing, etc., east wing of the Insane Hospital	28,500 00
Purchase and fencing 56½ acres meadow land, Insane Hospital	6,000 00
Purchase of 150 acres of land, with building, lying directly east of the Insane Hospital	23,000 00
Support and maintenance of convicts transferred from the District of Columbia	80,000 00
Pay the interest on sundry sums loaned for Government purposes by the First National Bank of Washington, District of Columbia	5,670 12
Maintenance, etc., of the deaf, dumb, and blind pupils, etc., Columbia Institute	27,758 76
Erecting, furnishing, etc., two additions to the building of the Columbia Institute	190,280 00
Increased supply of Potomac water and erection of tanks, etc., Columbia Institute	5,000 00
Proper inclosure, grading, and improvement of the grounds of Columbia Institute	11,600 00
Erection of a brick barn, carriage house, etc, Columbia Institute,	14,500 00
Purchase of a tract of improved land for the Columbia Institute,	33,500 00
Support, medical treatment, etc., of transient paupers, etc., District of Columbia	107,999 30
Establishing a house of correction for boys, District of Columbia,	12,000 00
Erecting, furnishing and heating a lodge for colored women, District of Columbia	10,000 00
Support of the Columbia Hospital for women, etc., District of Columbia	45,000 00
Construction of a police telegraph in the city of Washington	15,000 00
Construction of a bridge and market-house in Georgetown, District of Columbia	13,000 00
Removing stables, etc., from the grounds around the Washington Infirmary	4,999 22
Painting, repairing, etc., of eastern portion of City Hall	3,200 00
Purchase of suitable sites for the erection of school-houses in the county of Washington, outside the limits of the cities of Washington and Georgetown	10,000 00
National Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home	10,000 00
Construction, etc., of suitable cases to receive the collections of the exploring expedition, etc	10,000 00
Expenses of the transfer of the collections of the exploring expedition	1,000 00
Preservation of the collections of the exploring expedition	51,192 50
Books of records, shelving, etc., for the office of Register of Deeds, etc	1,500 00
Support of the public green-houses, etc	58,781 16
Re-glazing and repairing damages to the green-houses, etc	1,044 16
For a colossal statue of Washington, by Clark Mills	25,000 00
Transporting and placing Mills' statue of Washington on the pedestal, etc	10,000 00
Procuring manure, tools, etc., for the Botanic Garden	32,100 00
Introduction of Potomac water into the Botanic Garden	1,000 00

Purchase and removal of materials, and erecting four green-houses, etc.	$ 2,500 00
For an iron fence around the Botanic Garden	25,057 90
Bridge Tiber Creek, where it runs through the Botanic Garden	60,652 78
To change Tiber Creek, where it runs through the Botanic Garden, into a sewer	28,000 00
Erection of the west wing of the Patent Office building, etc	52,329 86
Erection of the north front of the Patent Office building, etc	257,093 13
Flooring the basement rooms in the old portion of the Patent Office building	6,000 00
Repairing the saloon in the west wing of the Patent Office building	20,000 00
Casual repairs of the Patent Office building	99,349 75
Making cases, etc., in the Patent Office building to receive copyright books, etc	18,400 00
Construction of the cellar of the north front of the Patent Office building into offices, etc	12,000 00
Completing the work on the Patent Office building so far as to preserve the materials already prepared	15,000 00
Furnishing the rooms in the north wing of the Patent Office building, and furnishing the same with suitable cases	83,876 64
Erecting new furnaces in the basement in the east wing Patent Office building	15,000 00
Repairing and painting saloon in the old portion of the Patent Office building	5,000 00
Repairs of rooms in the basement of the west wing of the Patent Office building	5,000 00
Construction of the water-closets in the basement of the south front of the Patent Office building	2,000 00
Reconstruct chimneys and flues in the Patent Office building	8,000 00
Finishing the Patent Office building	208,500 00
Fuel and lights for the Patent Office building	98,732 69
Continuation of the Treasury building	4,449,397 98
Annual repairs of the Treasury building	10,000 00
Extension of the General Post Office building	339,366 89
Finish improvements onthe west front of the Post Office building,	5,650 00
Lighting and ventilating the upper portion of the Treasury building	23,911 85
Alteration of the Treasury building	61,787 32
Refitting rear basement rooms of the old Treasury building, etc.	11,000 00
Erect a Department of Agriculture on reservation No. 2	100,000 00
Addition to the Public Printing Office and the necessary presses, etc	59,915 74
To provide temporary accommodation for the State Department,	8,000 00
Constructing the necessary water-closets on each floor of Winder's building	8,450 00
Armory for the militia of the District of Columbia	327 00
Completing the Washington aqueduct	1,832,766 29
Purchase of grounds adjacent to Washington arsenal	2,340 33
Improvement of grounds about the hospital and farms	2,000 00
Completing the defenses of Washington	350,611 18
Hospital, Washington, District of Columbia	114,611 55
Navy Yard, Washington, District of Columbia.	1,256,036 79
Magazine, Washington, District of Columbia	212,198 82
Arsenal, Washington, District of Columbia	78,379 00
Grading and improvements of grounds Department of Agriculture	22,000 00
Heating apparatus, Department of Agriculture	15,000 00
Gas fixtures, Department of Agriculture	2,880 00
Cases for museum, Department of Agriculture	3,880 00
Painting walls, etc., Department of Agriculture	6,255 00
Purchase of furniture, fitting up laboratory, etc., Department of Agriculture	12,500 00
Repairs of the Long Bridge	59,999 92

Taking down and rebuilding, etc., southwest span, etc., Long Bridge	$ 3,247 54
Repairs of Potomac, navy yard, and Upper bridges	82,544 66
Complete the bridge across the Potomac at Little Falls	4,955 84
Repairs of the Navy Yard bridge	36,000 00
Repairs of the bridge across the Potomac at Little Falls	34,010 00
Repairs of the Potomac bridge	18,000 00
Removal of the foot bridge on Maine avenue to Third street west,	375 00
Construction of a wooden bridge, etc., across the canal in the line with Maine avenue	1,875 00
Purchase and repairs of tools for the public grounds	6,750 00
Public reservation No. 2 and Lafayette Square	27,863 00
Continuing the grading and planting with trees the unimproved portion of the Mall	2,500 00
Purchase of trees and tree-boxes, etc., for the public grounds	37,000 00
Hire of carts for the public grounds	19,757 50
Purchase of manure for the public grounds	4,000 00
Repairs of Pennsylvania avenue	69,600 00
Cleaning out the sewer traps on Pennsylvania avenue	4,300 00
Erecting cast-iron lamp-posts, etc., western terminus of Pennsylvania avenue through Bridge and High streets, Georgetown	810 00
Complete and revise the grades of the city of Washington	1,750 00
Laying down gas-pipes, etc., at Four-and-a-half, Seventh and Twelfth streets, etc	6,000 00
Lighting with gas Four-and-a-half, Seventh and Twelfth streets across the Mall	4,000 00
Curbing and paving foot-walk, gutter, etc., south side Missouri avenue from Third to Sixth streets west	1,939 87
Inclosing the circle, etc., Pennsylvania avenue, with wrought-iron rail fence	9,018 47
Grading and graveling B street south from Seventh to Fourteenth streets	7,979 50
Improvements of avenues, streets, etc., in Washington	875,041 57
Repairing Delaware avenue north of C street south	1,000 00
Paying one-half the expenses of sewer traps intersection of Fourth street west and E street north	200 00
Making improvements provided for in the thirteenth section of the city charter	5,000 00
Lighting Maryland avenue west to Sixth street south with gas, etc.	15,000 00
Repairs of culvert on New Jersey avenue	500 00
Improvement of B street south from Sixth to Seventh streets west, Maine avenue, etc	6,940 00
Iron seats for the public grounds	1,000 00
Painting iron fences of the public grounds	8,500 00
Hauling manure for the public grounds	8,000 00
Repairing gates to the iron fence around Lafayette Square	5,000 00
Repair and whitewash the wooden fences around the several reservations	1,000 00
Repairing the arch on New Jersey avenue below the Coast Survey building	1,000 00
Grading East Capitol street and inclosing Lincoln Square	15,000 00
Grading and repairing Virginia avenue	10,000 00
Pay for ashes purchased by the public gardener	125 00
To inclose Franklin Square with a wooden fence and to grade and plant it with trees	6,500 00
Repairing fence around Armory Square	533 00
Improvement of grounds, purchase of plants for garden, etc.	2,000 00
Taking up and relaying with stone flagging the brick pavement in front of the War and Navy Departments	19,000 00
Taking care of the circle on Pennsylvania avenue	2,150 00
Continuing the grading and repairing of Virginia avenue	12,000 00
Expenses of opening Sixth street west across the Mall, etc	4,000 00
Improvement of reservations on New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Maryland avenues	10,000 00

Further improvement of the circle on Pennsylvania avenue.....	$ 600 00
Painting the iron fences around Lafayette Square, etc..	5,000 00
For new crossings on Pennsylvania avenue	5,000 00
Sewer in the rear of K street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets west.....	2,500 00
Annual repair of fences around the public reservations.....	1,000 00
Lighting Four-and-a-half street, Maryland avenue, and Sixth street south.....	15,000 00
Removing snow and ice from pavements and public walks.....	1,200 00
For other improvements of Lincoln Square.....	8,000 00
Continuing the twenty-inch water main from B street north to First street east.....	10,000 00
Supply a deficiency in payment for materials for gates for Judiciary Square Hospital.....	868 00
Building an arched roadway over Tiber Creek on North Capitol street.....	5,000 00
	$19,010,838 87

JOHN ALLISON, *Register.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Register's Office, February 19, 1870.

Appropriations for District for 1870.

House of Correction..	$12,000 00
Survey for bridge in District of Columbia..	3,960 00
Warden of jail.....	720 00
War Department, for rent, watchmen, laborers etc.....	6,000 00
Transient paupers in District of Columbia (for care and support)	6,000 00
For watchmen and laborers for building corner Seventeenth and F streets.	720 00
Government Hospital for Insane.	90,500 00
Public works in and around Washington—	
For casual repairs of navy yard and upper bridges.....	16,000 00
For fuel for President's House.....	5,000 00
For repairs of furniture of President's House.....	15,000 00
For reservation No. 2, and Lafayette Square.....	2,000 00
For care and improvement of grounds south of President's House	2,000 00
For removing snow and ice from public walks.....	500 00
For manure and hauling the same to public grounds.....	500 00
For improvement and care of reservations.....	3,000 00
For iron fences—painting.....	3,000 00
For inclosing and paving the circle, Vermont and Massachusetts avenues.	11,124 00
For iron fence, paving and improving around Franklin Square...	25,000 00
For annual repairs and repainting exterior of President's House,	10,000 00
For flower-pots, mats, etc.....	1,000 00
For fuel for center building of Capitol.....	500 00
For ventilation of Senate Chamber.....	2,500 00
For propagating-house.....	3,000 00
For hire of carts.....	3,000 00
For hire of three horses and carts, fifty cents per day additional,	500 00
For purchase and repairs of tools for public grounds.....	1,000 00
For purchase of trees and tree-boxes.....	2,000 00
For annual repairs of fences around reservations.....	2,000 00
For cleaning out sewer traps.....	500 00
For lighting President's House, Capitol, etc.....	40,000 00
For pay of lamp-lighters, plumbing, etc.....	5,000 00
For contingencies of office of public buildings.....	1,000 00
For expenses in improvement of streets, etc.....	20,000 00

For improvement and care of seats and fountains at Capitol	$ 1,000 00
For circular fence around and through President's grounds	10,000 00
For repairs to green-house at President's House	2,500 00
For repairs to green-house at propagating garden	1,500 00
For taking out private stairway leading from law library	000 00
Washington Aqueduct—	
For purchase of roadway from Great Falls	11,200 00
For purchase of roadway across land of William Brook	550 00
For rent and purchase of land at high service	3,300 00
For rent and purchase of land at bridge No. 6	2,640 00
For cleaning out obstructions near the draw	5,500 00
For repairs in tunnel No. 1	1,500 00
For preserving the new tunnel from falling in	20,000 00
For completing and distributing reservoir according to the original plan, slope-wall protection	30,000 00
For repairing earthen banks and valve gate	5,000 00
For completing the two gate-houses of this reservoir	20,000 00
For arrears of superintendence and repairs to July 1, 1870	4,000 00
For completing work at arch over high-service reservoir	4,000 00
For superintendence and general repairs	12,000 00
For macadamizing top of conduit, now used as the main road to Washington	10,000 00
For use of building by Department of Education	427 78
For superintendent of building occupied by Department of Interior	700 00
For Metropolitan Police	211,050 00
For primary schools of District of Columbia	10,000 00
	$645,471 78

The following is a list of the appropriations affecting the interests of the District of Columbia, passed by the third session of the Forty-first Congress, 1871:

For the Government Hospital for the Insane	$125,000 00
For repair and improvement of the west wing of the hospital edifice	15,000 00
For building wall along river front	10,000 00
For support of the institution	45,500 00
For continuing the work on the inclosure and improving and grading the grounds of the institution	6,000 00
For necessary expenses in the erection, furnishing, and fitting up of the building of the institution, in accordance with plans heretofore submitted to Congress	18,000 00
For the support of the Columbia Hospital for Women and Lying-in Asylum, over and above the probable amount which will be received from pay patients	15,000 00
For the National Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home of the city of Washington, District of Columbia, to be disbursed under direction of the Secretary of the Interior	15,000 00
To reimburse O. Wolf, recorder of deeds, for certain books of record and indexes purchased by him for the use of his office,	1,248 00

For repairs, care, and improvement of public buildings, grounds, and works in the District of Columbia, under the direction of the Chief Engineer of the Army, namely:

For casual repairs of the navy yard and upper bridges	$5,000 00
For repair of Government water-pipes and fire-plugs on Pennsylvania avenue	5,000 00
For care and improvement of reservations on New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Maryland avenues	15,000 00
For cleaning out sewer traps along Pennsylvania avenue	1,000 00

For improving Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Maine, Delaware, and New Jersey avenues	$ 25,000 00
For annual repairs of fences around reservations	2,000 00
For care and improvement of public reservation No. 2 and Lafayette Square	7,500 00
For removing snow and ice from pavements and public walks	1,000 00
For manure, and hauling the same to public grounds and reservations	3,000 00
For painting iron fences around Lafayette Square, in front of the War and Navy Departments	2,000 00
For improvement, care, and protection of seats and fountains in the Capitol grounds	2,000 00
For hire of carts in the public grounds	3,000 00
For purchase and repair of tools used in public grounds	2,000 00
For purchase of trees and tree-boxes, and to whitewash tree-boxes and fences	5,000 00
For purchase of flower-pots, mats, glasses, and twine	1,000 00
For lighting the Capitol, Executive Mansion, and public grounds,	40,000 00
For pay of lamp-lighters, plumbing, gas-fitting, lamps, lamp-posts, matches, and repairs of all sorts	10,000 00
For fuel for center building of the Capitol	1,500 00
For annual repairs of the Executive Mansion	5,000 00
For refurnishing the Executive Mansion	5,000 00
For care and improvement of grounds south of the Executive Mansion	5,000 00
For fuel for the Executive Mansion	3,000 00
For repair of green-house at the Executive Mansion, and purchase of plants	3,000 00
For an iron bridge across the canal at Thirteenth street west, and improvement of Monumental reservation	5,000 00
For repairs of green-house at propagating garden	3,000 00
For improving Franklin Square, opening and graveling walks and planting trees and shrubbery	5,000 00
For improvement of circle at the intersection of Massachusetts and Vermont avenues	6,000 00
For paving on Pennsylvania avenue and Fifteenth street in front of the property of the United States, in accordance with the law making change of grade	14,792 00
For paving Pennsylvania avenue in front of the Botanic Garden, from the northwest gate of the Capitol grounds to Third street west, including grading, laying sidewalk, flag footways, re-setting curb, paving, and building sewer, under act of July 8, 1870	25,838 00

WASHINGTON AQUEDUCT.

For finishing coping and iron railing on bridges number one, two, three, and four	10,000 00
For widening embankments over conduit and macadamizing roads	10,000 00
For completing gate-house at distributing reservoir	20,496 00
For completing high-service reservoir	4,000 00
For ventilators over conduit	2,800 00
For fencing reservoirs	3,600 00
For building office at Rock Creek bridge	3,300 00
For engineering, superintendence, and repairs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1872	20,000 00
For completing earthwork and making the slope-wall of division dam	20,000 00
For completing slope-wall of distributing reservoir	20,000 00

ARMORIES AND ARSENALS.

For Washington Arsenal, Washington, District of Columbia; improving magazine grounds	$ 2,000 00
For support of Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum	78,000 00
For Treasury building, Washington, District of Columbia; for annual repairs and improvements	15,000 00
For protection of Treasury building on Fifteenth streets, and repairs of sidewalk	19,816 00

NEW STATE DEPARTMENT.

For the construction, under the direction of the Secretary of State, on the southern portion of the premises now occupied by the War and Navy Departments, a building which will form the south wing of a building that, when completed, will be similar in the ground plan and dimensions to the Treasury building, and provide accommodations for the State, War, and Navy Departments; the building to be of such kind of stone as may be hereafter determined, three stories in height, with basement and attic, and of fire-proof construction; the plans to be approved by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, before any money is expended under the provisions of this act	500,000 00
	$1,191,890 00

Total	$24,715,552 16
	19,010,838 87
	645,471 78
	1,191,890 00
	$45,563,251 31

EXHIBIT No. 2.

The following amounts have been expended by the United States from time to time exclusively for the benefit of the District of Columbia:

Payment on account of principal and interest of loan made State of Maryland to the city of Washington	$290,874 84
To aid the directors of the Washington Infirmary to enlarge their accommodations for the benefit of sick transient paupers	20,000 00
Support of insane persons in the District of Columbia, including liquidation and settlement of debts due Maryland for support of insane paupers	80,296 74
Support, clothing, etc., insane paupers District of Columbia	13,828 36
Support and maintenance of insane paupers in the District of Columbia and Baltimore	7,169 75
Support of insane paupers in the District of Columbia	40,029 89
Support, etc., of transient paupers in infirmary	14,250 00
Support, etc., of transient paupers	9,750 00
Maintenance of deaf and dumb, etc., of District of Columbia Institute	1,600 75
Support, etc., of insane of District	20,500 00
Relief of the several corporated cities of the District	1,155,058 29
Reimbursement of the debt contracted by the cities of the District of Columbia assumed by the United States	780,000 00
Loan made to the city of Washington	100,000 00

For the benefit of the city of Washington	$ 70,000 00
Erection of lodge for colored insane, etc	12,020 00
Support of a penitentiary in the District of Columbia	56,888 30
Construction of a jail in the District	56,888 30
Support, medical treatment, etc., of transient paupers, etc., District of Columbia	107,999 30
Erecting, furnishing and heating lodge for the colored women of the District	10,000 00
Support of Columbia Hospital for Women, etc., of District	45,000 00
Construction of a police telegraph in the city of Washington	15,000 00
Market-house and bridge in Georgetown	13,000 00
Removing stables from grounds around Washington Infirmary	4,999 22
Purchase of sites for school-houses	10,000 00
Hospital Washington City	114,611 55
House of Correction	12,000 00
Support of Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum	78,000 00
Warden of jail	700 00
Transient paupers	6,000 00
Primary schools for District	10,000 00
Hospital for women lying in, etc	15,000 00
	$3,085,553 17

There has also been expended for bridges, Pennsylvania avenue, and waterworks, the following sums:

For bridges in the city and District	$665.562 91
Pennsylvania avenue	463,223 50
Washington Aqueduct	3,352,931 08

A very large amount has in addition been expended upon other avenues and streets.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL IS MOVABLE.

A LETTER TO HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL, IN REPLY TO AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY HIM IN THE NEW YORK "INDEPENDENT" AGAINST THE REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL.

[*From the Missouri Democrat, March 26, 1871.*]

Hon. JUSTIN S. MORRILL:

Dear Sir: I join issue with you at once upon the subject of the removal of the National Capital, and insist that instead of it not being movable, as you have asserted in the New York *Independent* of the 9th inst., it is in every way subject to removal and *will* be removed at an early day.

At the very outset of my reply to you, Mr. Morrill, I regret that your article is so devoid of argument upon the question at issue, for I have been anxious all along during the discussion to see one single honest, sensible argument against removal, but as yet I have seen none. Col. Forney has made two or three attempts to discuss the subject, but in no case did he make any effort to answer the arguments of the friends of Capital removal, nor have you. Your article in the *Independent* is amazingly wordy. I am surprised that you would devote so much time and space to words alone. You have, however, shown yourself fully competent to write a novel upon the subject of Capital removal, and would it not be advisable for you to do so? But let me proceed at once to the reply.

I. You speak of the Capital movement agitation as being local around St. Louis and its Illinois suburbs. Now, sir, you know but little about the agitation, or else you willfully misrepresent. I know that there are thousands of people on the Eastern declivity of the continent, and many newspapers, who

are in favor of removal. I know that nine-tenths of the people of the States of the Mississippi Valley are for removal, and would so vote if the opportunity was afforded. But a few weeks ago I visited the Capitals of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana, and the legislators of those States, in the express interest of the Capital movement, and I found the people all right, and you will find them so if you ever venture west of the Alleghany Mountains.

II. You say that "public judgment has long concurred in the propriety of the present location of the Capital." So does the family on the frontier long concur in the propriety of living in a log-house, but after a while the growth of the family demands a change—the building of new and more commodious houses, and a better location for them. The time has come for the people of this great Republic to demand a new Capital, and let me say to you, Senator Morrill, that the agitation will never cease until the Capital is removed. Please bear this in mind.

III. You say that "our fathers ordained and established the permanent seat of government with the idea that it was to exist for ages," and that "it was done in strict obedience to a provision of the Constitution, then just adopted," and at a time when the heat of factions and the asperity of local feuds had nowhere hatched out a brood of demagogues.

Now, sir, I undertake to say that neither of these statements of yours are true; that they are false in theory and false in fact. The debates show conclusively that the able men of the first Congress scouted the idea of a permanent seat of government. Mr. Madison was positive in declaring in debate in the first Congress that it was impossible for them to provide against the repeal of their own acts; that they were not as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

History also very clearly teaches that factional feuds did exist among the representatives of the people at that time, and the location of the Capital at its present place was nothing more than the compromise of a feud existing among demagogues and politicians. Nor was the present location made by an express provision of the Constitution. The Constitution was framed and adopted without any reference to any particular place for the seat of government. It only provided for a Capital—nothing more.

But there is another view to be taken of this subject, Mr. Morrill, which will more clearly prove the absurdity of your assertion. It is this: Suppose that at the time of the discussion in the first Congress upon the subject of the location of the Capital, that instead of the then existing Government of the United States, along a narrow, rocky strip of land on the eastern verge of the continent, that the vast country west of the Alleghany Mountains, and stretching along to the Pacific Ocean, had been carved into populous States and Territories, and they represented in the first Congress, what think you would have been the character of the discussion then upon the subject of the seat of government? Suppose that these great Valley States had been in existence then, with their population, their industry, their 30,000 miles of railway, their resources and their promise of future greatness. Then, suppose that Henry Clay, Crittenden, Bell, Benton, Douglas, Lincoln, Yates, and others had been members of the Senate and House, what think you, I ask again, would have been the character of the discussion? None but a madman would have contended or even thought of locating the Capital on the Potomac instead of the Mississippi. The argument involved in a consideration of the subject stands supreme to-day, and must have a hearing.

IV. You say that the Capital must stand near the Atlantic seaboard for the purpose of easy communication with foreign nations, and on account of its proximity to the commercial metropolis of our country. I can see no possible argument in this assertion whatever. Diplomatic business can be conducted as easily with the Capital in the Mississippi Valley as it can at Washington. In reference to the commercial metropolis of the country, it is not possible for New York to remain the great city much longer. Ten years more will see a greater amount of imported goods to this country landed on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean than upon the Atlantic seaboard.

V. You say, Senator Morrill, that if the Capital was transplanted to other and different grounds it would never take root, but any such violent change would tend to create new and foster old sectionalism, etc., etc. Now, Senator, such a position as that is simply absurd, and no statesman will make such a remark or entertain such a view, and you cannot scare anybody by making the statement. The people of the West are growing more and

more strong and determined, and what they agitate to-day they will vote on to-morrow; and here I give you fair warning that the agitation of this subject will soon cease and the voting begin, and no power can resist the majority; and whoever stands in the way, whether he be President, Senator, or demagoguing politician, will be run over, and to the world will be given a sublime example of the new Capital taking root in the heart of the country and in the hearts of the people. Out here in the midst of these great Valley States the Capital will be surrounded by millions of loyal hearts, who yield to none of their brethren in devotion to the nation, the symbol of whose power it is. Mr. Senator, I judge Dr. Draper, of New York, to be a greater philosopher than yourself, and he says in two of his volumes on the civil war in America, that the Capital ought and will be removed to the Valley of the Mississippi. In the very nature of things, it will be drawn to the center of population and power. Your allusion, in this matter, to Western town-lot speculators is the last dodge of a weak man advocating a weak cause.

Again, your historical allusions have no weight on this subject. The removal of the Capital of States and nations is of frequent occurrence, and without injury to either. Jerusalem was substantially the Jewish nation at the time of its capture; besides, a barbarous enemy with overpowering force was hurled against it. Washington City lacks a great deal of being the Government of the United States—in fact it is the most insignificant and meanest part of it.

Constantine removed the Capital of the Roman empire without any detriment to the empire, and no one but a very old grandmother would suppose for one moment that the removal of the Capital from Washington would in the least affect the welfare of the republic.

VI. I see no argument in your flourish of trumpets about the patriotic associations that cluster around Washington, where the people give houses to Presidents, Generals, Supreme Court Judges, Senators, and demagogues, to secure their services in opposition to the removal of the Capital. Senator Morrill, this republic was not founded on dead men's tombs. It was founded upon freedom to the living, and equal and exact justice to the citizen. It exists in the everlasting confidence and support of the people, and traditions are of no avail to its mighty growth and necessities.

VII. In answer to your assumption that convenience is not an argument in favor of removal, I have only to say that the fact that railroads render all points more or less convenient, is just as much in favor of the West as it is for the East; and claim what you will for Washington with one railroad, I will claim more for any place in the West where the Capital is likely to come. So you cannot make anything by that dodge

VIII. You cannot deceive any one familiar with the facts, about the cost of new buildings. If the present buildings were erected at gold prices and low wages, the work was done when provisions and materials were alike cheap; when corn could be bought at 10 and 12 cents per bushel, and wheat at 25 cents per bushel; wages now, as they did then, correspond with the price of materials and of living; so you can make no point under that head. As to the eight-hour policy, that was established by a foolish act of the present United States Senate.

As to the moving of the Capital, Senator Morrill, and the archives of the Government, together with the hangers-on, office-seekers, etc., you need have no fears about that being promptly and successfully attended to. It can be done much easier than the supplying of stores to either Grant's or Sherman's army, during any of their important campaigns.

IX. You say that the actual removal would destroy the faith of the world in the future of our republican Government. Senator Morrill, the truth is in the very reverse of what you say. There is not an intelligent man on the earth to-day who does not loath Washington City as the Capital of this great republic. It is a farce, an absurdity, and gives no character to our great continental Government. But you add to the silly statement the still more foolish remark that if the Capital was removed to St. Louis, or any other point, it would cripple their resources and energies, by the control the Government would have over the property and interests of the city selected. Well, Senator, you can't scare anybody by that kind of twaddle. The friends of Capital removal fully understand the subject, and have no fears of any place being injured where there lives an independent people. This part of the subject will be properly explained in due time. A large district for the Capital has proved a failure; besides, no one expects the Capital to be located inside the corporate limits of any city.

X. Mr. Senator, you made a wanton and unpatriotic attack, in your article, on Missouri—an attack beneath the dignity of a statesman. The question of loyalty or disloyalty does not enter into the subject at all; besides, sir, there has never been a time since Missouri has been a State, that the Capital of the nation would not have been more secure upon her soil than in the District of Columbia. Even if her people lacked of that patriotism which was necessary to save the Capital, the loyal people of Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas would have rushed to the rescue with more local power than you can possibly muster in the defense of Washington. And, sir, Missouri sent more loyal men to fight for the Union during the rebellion than did Vermont. But I do not wish to make these comparisons as you have done; they tend more to stir up invidious feelings among the people of different sections of the country than to cultivate patriotism. I will therefore say to you as Webster said to Hayne: "Matches and overmatches." There is the West; the gallant deeds of her soldiers are recorded in the history of their country. They went down the Mississippi to the Gulf. They crossed to the sea. They went with Grant through the Wilderness to Richmond. They did their work the best they could. They were engaged in a common cause with their brethren of the East, the maintenance of the liberty and life of the great republic. You can read the history of their gallant deeds at your leisure, and learn whose arms it was that did most to save the republic.

XI. Your remarks, Senator Morrill, in reference to an amendment to the Constitution being necessary for a legal removal of the Capital, are surely made in the spirit of a demagogue, or without knowing what you are talking about. Wiser men than you declared long ago that the Capital was not located by a provision of the Constitution, but simply by an act of Congress which carried no power of perpetuity with it. Then you tickle Grant for a foolish expression of his, and say that he made a pithy remark. Well, it was all pith.

But, Mr. Senator, I don't desire to carry this discussion any further at the present time, for it is difficult to discuss with a man who either don't understand the subject, or else willfully persists in misrepresenting its principles. Let me, in conclusion, repeat again to you that the agitation will soon cease and the voting commence, and no demagogue nor office-seeker dare put himself in opposition to the majority.

Missouri is larger than all New England put together, and soon she will be more wealthy and powerful; besides, there is more of New England west of the Alleghanies than east of them. The children of New England are spread out over the prairies of the West. They have built cities and towns, school-houses and colleges, churches and workshops, and here they will contend for the Capital. All hail to the Great West and the future empire of the Mississippi Valley.

Let the National Capital move.

Very respectfully,

L. U. REAVIS.

St. Louis, Mo., *March 14, 1871.*

ANALYTIC STATEMENT

Of Expenditures on the Public Buildings in Washington, made by Gen. BOYNTON, *Washington Correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette.*

Among the many questions involved in the one of removing the National Capital are those which pertain to the present condition of our investment in the District of Columbia. Next to the consideration of what we already have here comes a computation of what is still needed to meet the wants of the Government.

A report of Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, made in response to a resolution of Congress, and dated September, 1858, shows that "all the expenditures from the National Treasury for public and private purposes in the District of Columbia (excluding the salaries of public officers), from the time the seat of government was located at Washington to the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1868," was $24,715,552. From a similar report, prepared by Secretary McCulloch, of expenses from June 30, 1858, to June 30, 1868, it appears that the expenditures were $16,836,397, making a total to the last-named date of $41,551,949.

This includes the erection of the public buildings and their repairs, the introduction of gas and water, and the subsequent supply of each, the grading of avenues and public grounds, the bridging of the Potomac, erection and repairs of benevolent institutions, the navy yard and arsenal, and, in short, all the expenses of the District not paid by the municipal government.

The Government originally owned 10,113 lots and squares; of these 9,220 were sold for $811,642, and this sum, in addition to that named above, was expended upon public buildings and grounds. The rest of the lots unsold are in the outskirts of the city, held to be of little value. The lots and squares reserved by the Government were assessed in 1858 at $14,709,338.

The principal items of expenditure embraced in the reports mentioned were the following, the first being a general appro-

priation for buildings, and which is independent of the amounts named for the specific structures:

Public buildings	$ 1,515,966
Capitol	10,547,866
President's House, stables, etc.	178,675
President's House, subsequent expenses of house and grounds	744,092
Patent Office	2,279,520
General Post Office	2,033,817
Navy Yard	3,014,151
Smithsonian Institute, subsequent expenses	966,009
City Hall, share of Government	41,115
Buildings for offices, F and Seventeenth streets	200,000
Department of Agriculture	125,000
Public Printing office and fixtures	60,000
Arsenal and Magazine	390,000
Expended on public grounds	364,272
Grading streets, avenues and grounds	400,345
Sewers	58,000
Lots, Congressional Burying Grounds	14,350
Canal, and improving Potomac	740,000
Botanic garden and green-house	152,000
Columbia Institute	200,000
Washington aqueduct	3,056,057
Pennsylvania avenue	499,440
"Works of art"	474,615
Jails	96,727
Penitentiary and expenses	394,450
Insane Asylum	483,277
Bridges	652,727
Loans	2,355,058
Total above items	$32,128,536

The Treasury building, including the late or north extension, has cost $6,327,566.

To all these items must be added the expense of one year, and to that set down, as the cost of the Capitol, all additional sums voted for various purposes of repairs, enlargement and improvement, directly from the contingent or other funds of the two houses. A considerable portion of the first items for public buildings generally went for the Capitol. So that, in fact, the cost of that building as it now stands will not be far from $13,000,000, and the total expenditure for public purposes up to the present time, in the District of Columbia, may be set down in round numbers at $42,000,000.

The first cost and chief expenditure for furniture and repairs of the main structures here have been about as follows:

Capitol	$18,000,000
Treasury	6,327,566
Patent Office	2,279,500
General Post Office	2,033,817
Executive Mansion	700,000
Agricultural Department	125,000
Smithsonian Institute	325,000

THE CAPITOL.

Although this is acknowledged to be one of the finest buildings in the world, internally it is a series of patch-work. Both chambers are bad failures. The Senate is much too small, the House much too small also, and both so illy ventilated as to ruin them were there no inconveniences resulting from their contracted dimensions. In neither room is there any longer the needed rooms for committees, while on the House side the trouble arising from this cause is very great.

The Congressional Library has so far outgrown its enlarged quarters as to make it necessary already to pile many books away which should have shelf-room, while the files of newspapers are crowded into so small a space as to make them nearly valueless. In less than three years the library will wholly have outgrown the Capitol.

The old Senate chamber gives the Supreme Court ample accommodation for its usual sleepy proceedings when room for the judges, half a dozen lawyers, and as many visitors, answers every purpose. But when an interesting question arises less than three hundred of the crowds that seek admission can get in.

The library of the House has for two years past been badly crowded, and nearly all the public documents of those years lie piled up in confusion, for want of room to arrange them in order.

Two plans are proposed to remedy these difficulties. The first includes the idea of a continued use of both chambers by raising both, or in some other way providing for their ventilation. In addition to such changes in the wings as shall render the chambers comfortable, it is proposed by the center extension, as it is called, to provide additional rooms for libraries and committees. This will involve the entire removal of the old Capitol portion, and the throwing forward of the central building to a point on a line with the wings.

The other plan is to remove all the central portion, including the dome, and build a new Capitol upon the area east of the present site, leaving the two new wings as isolated buildings—the one for the Congressional Library, and the other for the National Judiciary. The bearing of this upon the cost of running the new Capital is readily seen. In any event it would cost little more to erect a suitable building elsewhere than to do what is already actually needed here.

THE TREASURY.

This building, with its northern extension completed, is judged by most architects to be the finest work of the kind in the country. The last extension particularly claims attention, and, with the changes made in other portions of the structure to make it conform to the general design, it is the most complete of the public buildings.

But it is already found too small for the business which must be transacted in it. With all the reduction of clerks and removal of Clarke's great machine shop from the basement, it is entirely too small for the convenient discharge of the public business. The Third Auditor's offices are in a separate building half a mile off. It has already cost over six millions, and fully two millions more will be required to remove the old east front and make it in conformity with the other extensions. Besides this necessary expense, ground that will cost about one million more is needed for the purpose of finishing the east front.

Before three millions is voted to complete a Treasury Department which is now much too small, and when done would be positively contracted, the question of a new one elsewhere will doubtless receive attention.

THE PATENT OFFICE.

This structure is nearly finished. Some fifty thousand dollars has been expended upon it in addition to the sum named above, and several hundred thousand dollars will be needed to complete the north and west porticos. It is also greatly crowded, though a temporary relief has been secured by the removal of the Agricultural Department from the basement. Only two stories can be used for offices, the model room occupying the entire upper floor. Here are all the bureaus of the Departments of the Interior, the Land Office, the Pension Office, the Indian Bureau, and Commissioner of Patents. The public records are everywhere encroaching upon the halls, and a large building opposite the north front is now rented at heavy expense to afford room for transacting the business of the department.

The General Post Office is complete, and, as yet, has proved large enough to meet the demands which the department makes upon it for room.

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

The structure is no longer fit for the residence of the President, and will soon be abandoned as such. Its capacity fits it for the Executive offices and for that alone. The erection of a President's house may be reckoned among the expenditures to be made at an early day, if the work of establishing a Capital here goes on.

THE WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS.

Both of these buildings are about ready to be abandoned. Neither affords the necessary room. Plans and specifications have already been prepared for a new structure which shall accommodate both. Such a building, properly furnished, will cost at least four millions. At present the Surgeon-General's Department, the Quartermaster's, the Engineer's, the Paymaster's and the Judge Advocate's offices are all in buildings which have been purchased or rented for that purpose.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

At present the Government owns no building where it can give this department quarters, but one is rented in the outskirts of the city, about a mile north of the White House. For some time it was thought that the Executive Mansion would be given up for a State Department, and for this it would answer tolerably well for a time; but a commission was authorized by the last Congress to select a site and prepare plans for a new building, and at the next session such a report, with plans, will be presented. The minimum cost will be about two millions.

A GENERAL INVENTORY.

It is easy to see that what the Government has already completed here is in few particulars fitted to its use. If the library and Supreme Court, and Court of Claims, could be taken out of the Capitol it would then afford the additional room for committees; but the problem of remedying the defects of the two halls is one of far greater difficulty, and cannot be solved without a large outlay of money.

The Treasury building, splendid structure as it is, is already overcrowded, and still requires a large sum to complete it. So of the Patent Office.

The buildings now needed will nearly equal, in the expense required to construct and furnish them, the value of those now furnished; while the latter, with scarcely an exception, are a series of additions to and repairs of old structures, and by no possible patching and covering up can the deformities thus arising be concealed.

The following figures will not vary much from the expense necessary to furnish the buildings now needed here:

Center extension Capitol	$5,000,000
State Department	2,000,000
President's grounds and mansion	2,000,000
Eastern extension Treasury	2,000,000
War and Navy Departments	4,000,000
United States Court and Attorney General's office	1,000,000

The question of going on with a new State Department and War and Navy building will come up next winter, and this will lead to a decision regarding the Capital which will settle its location for many years to come. Of the lesser buildings owned by the Government here, there are none which would enter into the discussion of a change in the Capital. The navy yard and arsenal and insane asylum would not necessarily be included in the removal. The Smithsonian Institute, as now managed, is as much of a humbug as the Washington Monument. The Agricultural Department cost $125,000, with its furniture. The Winder building, into which several bureaus are crowded, cost $200,000. The Army Medical Museum (Ford's) cost $100,000. The Government interest in the jail and city hall is a disgrace to it. The penitentiary no longer exists, and a new jail is soon to be built at public expense.

It will be seen from the first table that since the seat of government was established here, about $800,000 has been expended on all the public grounds, upon grading streets and constructing sewers. However, in this is the single item of expense incurred in bringing Pennsylvania avenue to its present state of rudeness, which amounts to $490,000.

The "works of art" purchased since the foundations were laid here cost $275,000. If a move is ever determined upon, most of them should be erected around the base of the Washington Monument and left with it.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the National Capital Convention, held at St. Louis the 20th, 21st, and 22d days of October, 1869:

WHEREAS, The present site of the National Capital was selected as the most central point when the people of this Republic — only a few millions in number — inhabited only a narrow strip of country along the Atlantic coast; *and whereas*, the population of this Republic has increased thirteen-fold since then, and spread over a vast continent, of which the States in existence when the seat of government was located for only the eastern edge; *and whereas*, the present location of the National Capital is notoriously inconvenient in times of peace, and, as the darkest pages of our national history demonstrate, in times of war or domestic turbulence is so dangerously exposed as to require vast armaments and untold millions of money for its special defenses; *and whereas*, all the reasons which caused the location of the seat of government where it now is have, by the enormous development of the country, and a corresponding change in the wants of the people, become utterly obsolete; therefore,

Resolved, That it is absurd to suppose that the handful of inhabitants in 1790, just emerging from a colonial vassalage, before steamboats, railways, telegraphs, or power-presses were dreamed of, or a mile of turnpike or canal constructed, possessed the authority or desired to exercise the power of fixing the site of the Capital forever on the banks of the Potomac, against the will and interests of the hundreds of millions who might come after them.

Resolved, That the people have endured the present illy-located Capital for three-quarters of a century, patiently waiting for the vast territory of the Union to be peopled and organized into States, and until the center of population, area and wealth should be determined, when a permanent place of residence for the Government could be selected. That time has come; all sectional issues are settled; all dangerous domestic variances are disposed of; a new era has been entered upon, and a new departure taken.

Resolved, That in the language of James Madison in the Congress of 1789, an equal attention to the rights of the community is the basis of republics. If we consider the effects of legislative power on the aggregate community, we must feel equal inducements to look to the center in order to find the proper seat of government. This equal attention has not been and cannot be given to the interests and rights of the people so long as the Capital is located in an inconvenient section of the Union.

Resolved, That the vast and fertile region known as the Mississippi Valley must for all time be the seat of empire for this continent, and exert the controlling influence of the nation, because it is homogeneous in its interests, and too powerful ever to permit the outlying States to sever their connection with the Union. This vast plain will always be the surplus food-producing portion of the continent, and the great market for the fine fabrics and tropical productions of other sections of the Republic. This immense basis must have numerous outlets and channels of cheap and swift communication, by water and rail, with the seaboard, for the egress of its products and the ingress of its exchanges;

therefore, whatever policy the Government may pursue that tends to multiply, improve, or enlarge those arteries of commerce must result in a common advantage to the whole Union — to the seaboard States equally with those of the center.

Resolved, That the natural, convenient, and inevitable place for the Capital of the Republic is in the heart of this valley, where the center of population, wealth, and power is irresistibly gravitating; where the Government, surrounded by numerous millions of brave and Union-loving citizens, would be forever safe against foreign foes or sectional sedition, and where it would need neither armaments nor standing armies for its protection.

Resolved, That while advocating the removal of the seat of government to the Mississippi, we do not mean to serve the interests of any particular locality, but that we urge Congress to appoint a Commission for the purpose of selecting a convenient site for the National Capital in the great Valley of the Mississippi.

Resolved, That in urging the removal of the National Capital from its present inconvenient, out-of-the-way, and exposed locality on the extreme border of the Union, we are in earnest, and that we shall not cease in our efforts until that end is accomplished, fully believing that the absolute necessity of the removal will become more apparent every day, and the majority of the American people will not long permit their interest and convenience to be disregarded.

Resolved, That the removal of the National Capital being only a question of time, we emphatically oppose and condemn all expenditures of money for the enlargement of all old Government buildings and the erection of new ones, at the present seat of the National Government, as a useless and wanton waste of the property of the people.

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